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## ARTICLES — PROBLÈMES ET ÉTUDES

*Jerzy Antoniewicz*

Warszawa

### TRIBAL TERRITORIES OF THE BALTIC PEOPLES IN THE HALLSTATT—LA TÈNE AND ROMAN PERIODS IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND TOPONOMY\*

At the end of the 18th century it was noticed that, on the basis of onomastic research, we may learn about vanished peoples and about ethnical relations prevailing on a given territory<sup>1</sup>. In the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century there appeared many publications about the place and river names being the evidence of vanished settlements of the Balts, situated on the territory from a part of Gdansk Pomerania to the upper Dniester. And yet the denomination "Balts" used by Nesselman (1845) denotes a geographical and cultural substance different from that dating back to the Antiquity and defined as *Baltia* by Pliny in his *Historia Naturalis*, IV, 95.

Pliny's denomination "*Baltia*", given to Scandinavia or rather strictly speaking Jutland, was used in the 19th century to denote the territory inhabited by a group of tribes which, in the 1st thousand years before our era, lived in the territory to the east of the following rivers: lower Vistula, Pregola, Nemunas (Niemen), Western Dvina, Berezina, upper Dnieper, Sosh, Desna and a part of the upper Volga. Kiparsky<sup>2</sup> was right when stating that the name given to the Baltic peoples had nothing in common with the Lithuanian word "baltas" (white) or "balta" (marsh). The name of Balts, created in the middle of the 19th century, covers large

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\* This article is a chapter of the author's work entitled *Settlement of the Baltic Peoples in East Europe and its Economic Bases* (from the 5th century before our era to the 5th century of our era).

<sup>1</sup> G. Hennig, Versuch über einige Überreste der altpreuss. Sprache vorzüglich in der Benennung einiger noch jetzt vorhandenen Städte und Dörfer in Ostpreussen und Litthauen, „Preuss. Archiv“, vol. V (1794), pp. 611—645.

<sup>2</sup> V. Kiparsky, Baltische Sprache u. Völker, in the collective work „Baltische Lande“, vol. I, Leipzig 1939, p. 48.

groups of tribes which, from the linguistic point of view, should be divided into the west Baltic and east Baltic tribal groups. This division, however, is not fully adequate as it comprises only the Prussian, Curonian and Samogitian tribes (the west Baltic group) as well as the Lithuanian and Latvian ones (the east Baltic group). Baltic tribes in the basins of the Berezina, the Sosh, the Desna and in a part of the Volga and the Oka ones are not included in this scheme. These territories were discussed from the linguistic point of view by M. Vasmer<sup>3</sup> on the basis of hydronymy (river and lake names). After the Second World War they have been examined by Soviet archaeologists.

There is no doubt that onomastic studies are most useful for the archaeologists wanting to elucidate the basic ethnical problems, particularly on borderlands or on territories inhabited in later times by a new population different as regards tradition and material culture. Such an ethnically different background can be now traced on the slavonized areas of Central Russia and Byelorussia, as well as on the area of historical Prussia which was germanized, and on the south — partially slavonized in the 13th—14th century. The names of rivers and lakes are the most valuable indicators, as they must have been adopted from the local Baltic population by the new Slavonic one or, as in the case of Prussia and Sudovia, by the administration and by the scouts of the Teutonic Order. The basin of the upper Czarna Hańcza river can serve as an example thereof, because, in the light of K. O. Falk's studies, the oldest Baltic names have been still preserved there by the new-comers: the Poles, the Lithuanians and the Byelorussians<sup>4</sup>. The name of the village Wigrańce, about 25 km distant eastwards from the Wigry Lake, of the village Czarne Wigrańce (now Smolany) to the north of that lake, as well as that of a group of people: "Wigranie", discovered by K. O. Falk, show that we have to deal with an old Baltic tribal group, called after the name of the lake, or vice versa — the lake was called after that group<sup>5</sup>. As to the eastern Baltic territories, the large basins of the upper Dnieper, of the Oka and of the upper Volga were discussed in the works of A. N. Sob-

<sup>3</sup> M. Vasmer, *Beiträge zur historischen Völkerkunde Osteuropas. I Die Ostgrenze der baltischen Stämme*, Berlin 1932, p. 641, ff.

<sup>4</sup> K. O. Falk, *Wody wigierskie i huciańskie*, vol. I (1941), p. 230. That is also emphasized by J. Wiśniewski, *Kilka uwag o osadnictwie południowych puszczy pojaćwieskich od XV do XVII w.*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. I (1961), p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> K. O. Falk, *Wody wigierskie...*, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 23, vol II (the register of the year 1569); J. Wiśniewski, *Domniemane ślady osad jaćwieskich w puszczych pojaćwieskich*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. I (1961), pp. 223 and 226; recently J. Nalepa, *Wigry nazwa największego jeziora Jaćwieży (w): „Språkliga Bidrag”*, Nr 20 Lund 1965, p. 28 and the publication entitled „Lietuvos TSR upių ir ežerų vardynas”, Vilnius 1963, p. 197.

lewski<sup>6</sup>, K. Būga<sup>7</sup> and M. Vasmer<sup>8</sup>. New data have been provided by the excavations carried out by V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubačev<sup>9</sup> and became a basis for the discussion on the occupation of the upper Dniester basin by Baltic tribes.

In the light of the results of the latter research there can be no doubt that the upper Dniester basin was a territory belonging ethnically to the Baltic group and, which is most important, on the basis of abundant hydronymic evidence, it may be supposed that in the period of Slavonic expansion, the Baltic peoples were not driven away from the upper Dniester basin towards the Baltic Sea, but were being gradually assimilated. Unfortunately, the published results of hydronymic research on the upper Dniester basin shows some deficiencies and therefore that publication of V. Toporov and O. N. Trubačev cannot be made full use of. The authors did not distinguish the particular "hydronymic dialects" on the examined area and their investigations did not cover the borderlands, where mixed archaeological cultures are occurring<sup>10</sup>. This results from the fact that so far there are no bigger synthetic works on the names of rivers and lakes in Lithuania<sup>11</sup>, Latvia and Prussia with the division into distinguishable groups. The existing publications on this subject do not contain synthetic conclusions characterizing the dialectal forms of names on various Baltic territories. For example: in spite of the works by Gerulis and Trautmann and of our rather good knowledge of place names of old Prussian territo-

<sup>6</sup> A. N. Sobolevskij, Gde žila Litva? „Izvestija A. Nauk“, series VI (1911), nos. 12—18, p. 1051 and ff. Sobolevskij's work entitled: Lingvičeskije i arheologičeskije nabliudeniija, vols. I—II, Warszawa 1910—1912, was very valuable and progressive in those times. See also, Nazwanija rek i ozer russkogo severa, Leningrad 1937, by the same author.

<sup>7</sup> K. Būga, Kalbų mokslas bei mūsų senovė, Kaunas 1913, id „Rinkiniai raštai“, vol. I, Vilnius 1958, p. 416.

<sup>8</sup> M. Vasmer, Die alten Bevölkerungsverhältnisse Russland im Lichte der Sprachforschung, Berlin 1941; id. Die Vorarbeiten zu einem Wörterbuch der russischen Gewässer- und Ortsnamen, „Onoma“, vol. VI (1955/56), pp. 71—74 and id, Wörterbuch der russischen Gewässernamen, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1960.

<sup>9</sup> V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubačev, Lingvističeskij analiz gidronimov verchnego Podnieprovja, Moskva 1962. See also their synthetic approach in: „Lietuvių Kulbotyros Klausimai“, vol. IV (1961), pp. 195—217. Certain additional indications are given by V. Gudelis in his work, unfortunately with methodical errors, on the etymology of the word and the place-name „gala(s)“. See Gudelis, Žodžio ir vietovardžio „gala(s)“ etimologijos ir priešistorines geografijos klausimu, „Geografinis Metraštis“, vol. III (1960), pp. 69—83.

<sup>10</sup> Attention is called to that among others, by P. N. Tretiakov in his work: Finno-ugry, balty i slavjanie v oblasti verchnego tečenija Dnepra i Volgi, „V Meždunarodnyj s'jezd slavistov“, Moskva 1963, p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> These conditions are not fulfilled by the collective work: „Lietuvos TSR upių ir ežerų vardynas“, Vilnius 1963, p. 224.



ries, we still know too little about appellatives of the old Prussian language. Our ignorance of the vocabulary of the old Prussian and other pre-Baltic languages does not allow us to qualify a given name as belonging to a defined dialectal group and therefore we can only express our general opinion about the Baltic origin of a preserved place-name not about its dialectal appurtenance.

As to the results of Toporov and Trubačev's studies of the upper Dniester basin, it can be said that the materials published by them are not uniform: river and lake names of the areas on the left Dniester bank in the Mohylev region differ from those, for instance, on both Dnieper banks in the Smolensk region, in spite of the same Baltic substratum; the basin of the Pripet and the Volhynian Polesie also represent a "hydronymic province" different from that of the Desna area, etc. When we, at the same time, notice that the differences between still undefined "hydronymic dialects" correspond to different types of material culture in particular regions occupied by Baltic tribes, we must realize how important V. N. Toporov's and O. N. Trubačev's studies have yet been.

Let us now consider the results of archaeological excavations combined with those of linguistic studies. Groups of Baltic names in the region of the upper Protva river (to the west of Moskva) when compared with the Kyevian mention of 1147 about "the people called Goljad", was puzzling the scientists for a long time. There is no place here to quote the abundant literature on that subject. Certain opinions of Russian scientists of the pre-revolutionary period must undoubtedly be flatly rejected; among others, those scientists believed the "people called Goljad" to have been Prussian war prisoners from the area of Galindia, settled on the Prosna river<sup>12</sup>. That belief is contradicted by the text of the "letopis" of 1053 about Izyaslav's victory over the Goljad' people and by the evidence of river and lake names, though they do not form any distinct group in that region<sup>13</sup>. These scattered Baltic settlements on the Finnic

<sup>12</sup> See recently: V. B. Vilimbachov and N. V. Engovatov, *Predvaritelnye zamečaniya o zapadnykh Galindach i vostočnoj Goljadi*, „Slavia Occidentalis”, vol. XXV (1963), pp. 233—269, with whom I do not agree in details. The quasi-migration on the route: *Galindia-Golensizi* upon the upper Odra river — *Goljad'* upon the Protva river, mentioned by these authors, must arouse doubts.

<sup>13</sup> B. A. Serebrennikov, *Wołgo-Okskaja toponimika na territorii Jevropejskoj časti SSR*, „Voprosy Jazykoznanija”, no. 6(1955), p. 124 ff. See id: *O niekotorych sledach iščesnuvšego indojevropejskogo jazyka v centre Jer. časti SSSR, bliskogo k baltickim jazykam*, „Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Darbai”, Series A I (1957), p. 67 ff; the value of this work consists in emphasizing the existence of Baltic and Iranian elements between the Volga and the Klyazma rivers outside the extent of Baltic settlement in the Protva basin.

territory correspond to a group of earthworks in the region of the Moskva river. V. V. Siedov links them with a group of the "golyad" tribes; river and place names there have the ending *-eja* and others<sup>14</sup>. Attention should also be called to the fact that the approximate borders of Baltic settlement in that region do not coincide with those of the Moskva group of earthworks, if we do not take into consideration the names "gal" or "gol" noticed by Gudelis; they have also been met to the south of Ładoga Lake and in the Vyatka basin on the east<sup>15</sup>. We must add, however, that Gudelis' argumentation is not convincing in details and cannot serve as a basis for general conclusions.

The data being the results of the correlation between linguistic and archaeological sources are not so clear as regards the territory situated to the south of the above mentioned one, i.e. on the areas of the Milograd and Jukhnovo cultures, in the basins of the Desna and the middle Sosh rivers, as well as in the Dnieper basin to the south of Mohylev till the mouth of the Pripet river. In the light of Toporov's and Trubačev's cartographic studies, Baltic names of rivers and lakes occur there not so often, when compared with those of the upper Dnieper region<sup>16</sup>, their types are not so distinct and unquestionable<sup>17</sup> as those on the adjacent territory confined by the line between the Dnieper and the Sosh basins.

It must be clearly stated, that in the light of the recent data published by Soviet science till 1962<sup>18</sup>, this territory belongs to those only scantily examined. We still do not know if this area was covered by the culture of earthworks with Brushed Pottery, or by that of the Smolensk earthwork with plain-walled pottery. As V. V. Siedov<sup>19</sup> has rightly observed, hydronymic formations typical to the East-Lithuanian tribes as well as a group of local Baltic hydronymia, typical to the south-eastern territories can be traced on the territory of the Milograd culture and on the area of the Jukhnovo culture in the Desna basin. For our part we can add that the Iranian substratum connected with Scythian nomads is very

<sup>14</sup> V. V. Siedov, *Gidronimika i archeologija srednej polosy vostočnoj Evropy*, „Trudy dokladov na zasiedanijach posv. itogam polevych issled”. Moskva 1963, p. 28. The author made use of the data published by V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubačev in the above mentioned publications.

<sup>15</sup> V. Gudelis, *Žodžio ir vietovardžio „gala(s)” etimologijas...*, loc. cit., fig. 2.

<sup>16</sup> V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubačev, *Lingvističeskij analiz...*, loc. cit. (map 3).

<sup>17</sup> V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubačev, *Lingvističeskij analiz...*, loc. cit. (map 8).

<sup>18</sup> A. K. Ambroz, L. W. Artiševskaja, *Drevnosti zelaznogo veka v meždurečie Desny i Dnepra*, Moskva 1962 (map 1).

<sup>19</sup> V. V. Siedov, *Gidronimika i archeologija...*, loc. cit., p. 23.

<sup>20</sup> V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubačev, *Lingvističeskij analiz...*, loc. cit.

intensive there<sup>20</sup>. In the light of Toporov's and Trubačev's studies, Iranian names are particularly numerous in the Seym basin, (the Seym river is a tributary of the Desna), at the juncture of the Jukhnovo culture with the characteristic group of earthworks in the upper Oka basin on the one hand and the elements of local, so-called Scythian, cultures in the

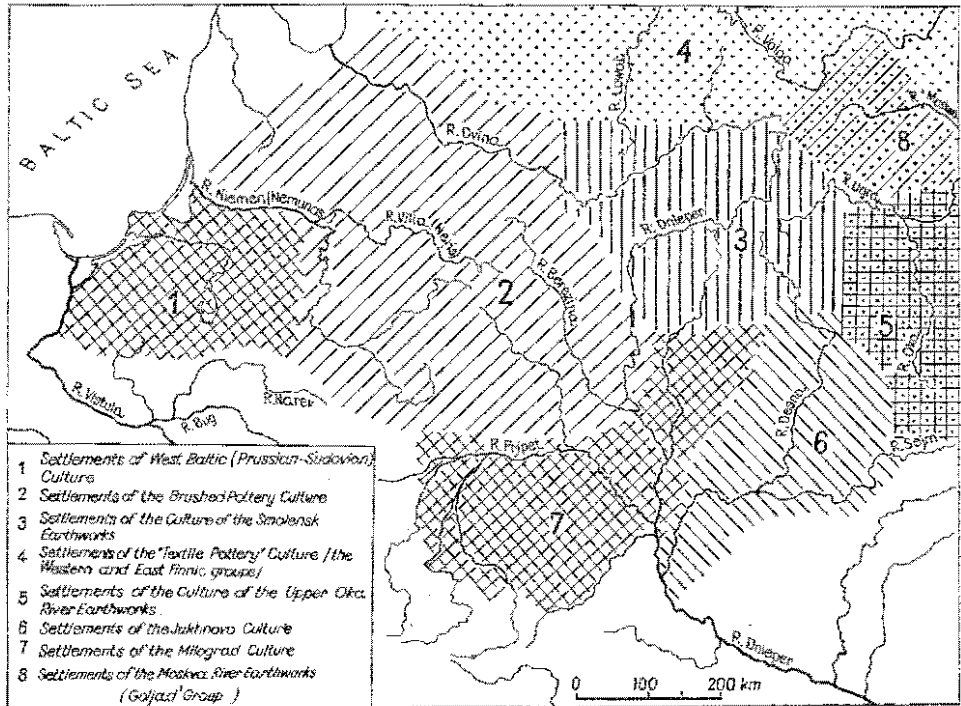


Fig. 1. Distribution of Cultural Groups of Baltic and Neighbouring Tribes about the 5th Century before Our Era. According to P. N. Tretiakov with the Author's Supplements.

Kiev region, particularly in the Psyola and Vorskla basins, on the other<sup>21</sup>. That is why we cannot express on the basis of these linguistic data any definite opinion as to the real ethnical appurtenance of the Milograd culture in the middle Dnieper basin or in the lower and middle Sosh region. It seems that the Milograd culture should not be taken into account in our further considerations, as it has not much in common with peoples of Baltic origin.

(map. 2), and R. Schmittlein, *Le nom de la rivière Oka*, „Revue Internationale Onomastique”, vol. X (1958), pp. 241—248.

<sup>21</sup> See B. N. Grakov and A. N. Mieliukova in the collective work: „Voprosy skifosarmatskoj archeologii”, Moskwa 1952, p. 83 (map).

Now we are going to deal with the next group of Baltic tribes connected with the ancestors of the Lett-Lithuanian tribes living on a vast territory of the culture of earthworks with the Brushed Pottery. The territory occupied by that culture is confined, on the north, by the upper Lovat basin and on the north-east — by a part of the right basin

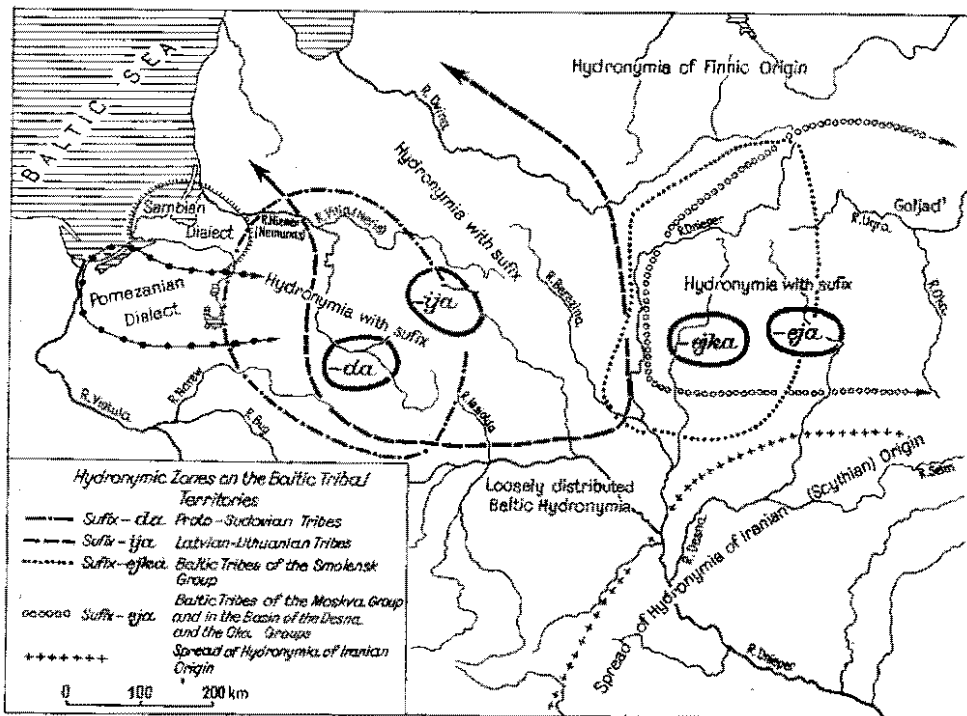


Fig. 2. Hydronymic Zones in Relation to Ethnical Groups of the Baltic Peoples. According to J. Antoniewicz.

of the upper Dniester, on the east — by a part of the Berezina basin and on the south- by the right basin of the Pripet river. In the west, earthworks with the Brushed Pottery occur in the upper and middle Nemunas (Niemen) basin, in a part of the upper basins of the Narew and the Supraśl rivers and in the Western Dvina basin except for small areas upon the mouth of the Dvina in the Riga Gulf. It is not the object of this work to make a detailed characteristics of particular groups of that vast cultural and ethnical province. What we should like to know is: which hydronymia are characteristic of that territory and whether their spread covered that of the culture of earthworks with the Brushed Pottery. Unfortunately in the light of archaeological and linguistic sources, this problem is more complicated.

Contrary to the type of names with the suffix *-eja* which occurs in hydronymia on a vast area showing East-Baltic elements, there is no hydronymic type characteristic of the ethnical area of the Lett-Lithuanian tribes with the Brushed Pottery. On the territory occupied by the population who built fortified settlements in which the Brushed Pottery occurred, there appears the type of names with the suffix *-ija* which, however, is not so frequent in the middle basin of the Western Dvina on the territory of to-day's Latvia<sup>22</sup>. How can this be explained? — It seems that the occurrence of the Brushed Pottery on such a vast area cannot be linked closely with local hydronymia, typical only to the territory of Lett-Lithuanian tribes; the area of the Brushed Pottery also covers intermediate zones, occupied by tribes ethnically foreign to the Lett-Lithuanian ones, which can be noticed, for instance, in the lower Dvina basin. It is also possible that the not so frequent occurrence of the hydronymic type of names with the suffix *-ija* in the basin of the lower and middle Dvina reflects the situation which had existed before (according to K. Būga)<sup>23</sup> a part of Lett-Lithuanian tribes moved to the west and to the north. The smaller number of characteristic Baltic names in the middle and lower Dvina basin, occurring at that time, was perhaps due to the fact that that area was longer occupied by Finnic tribes. Besides, in 1929, H. Moora<sup>24</sup> called attention to the fact that the pottery appearing in fortified settlements of the early Iron Age in Latvia was not uniform, the Brushed Pottery having been mixed with the plain-walled and "textile" ones. The latter also occurs in the basins of the Vyelika and the upper Dvina rivers<sup>25</sup>, in Estonia<sup>26</sup> and in Finland<sup>27</sup> and

<sup>22</sup> See R. Jablonskitė-Rimantienė, O drevnejšych kulturnych oblasťach na territorii Litvy, „Sovietskaja Etnografija”, 1954, no. 3, p. 4. As to physiographic names in Lithuania see J. Otrębski, La formation de noms physiographiques en Lithuanien, „Lingua Posnaniensis”, vol. I (1949), p. 215. V. V. Siedov, Gidronimika i archeologija... p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> K. Būga, Aisčiu praeitis vietų vardų šviešoje, „Rinktiniai raštai”, vol. III (1961), p. 723 (map). According to K. Būga, Lithuanian tribes moved from the east to the west in the 6th century; P. Tarasenko opposed Būga's opinion, from the archaeological point of view, in his work: Lietuvos Archeologijos medžiaga. Kaunas 1923, p. 66 ff. J. Endzelin, Die lettländischen Gewässernamen „Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie”, vol. 11 (1934), pp. 112—150.

<sup>24</sup> H. Moora, Die Eisenzeit in Lettland, vol. I, Tartu 1929, pp. 15—23 and 25—29.

<sup>25</sup> Ju. V. Stankievič, Drevnejšije ukrep. poselenija v verchnem tečenii zap. Dviny, „Drevije poselenija i gorodišča, Tallin 1955, pp. 102, 108—109; id., K istorii verchnego Podviniya w I tys.n.e., Moskva 1960, pp. 70, 79, 84—85.

<sup>26</sup> M. Schmiedehelm, Archeologičeskije pamjatniki perioda razloženiya rodovogo stroja na severo-vostoke Estonii, Tallin 1955, pp. 169 and 179.

<sup>27</sup> H. Moora, Voprosy složenija estonskogo naroda i nekatorych sosednich na-

should be linked with the culture of the Asva type, which is genetically the Ugrian-Finnic culture<sup>28</sup>. It seems that the consideration of the spread of the culture of earthworks with the Brushed Pottery without foreign admixtures, in correlation with typical East-Lithuanian hydronymic formations — leads to the following conclusions: the name-types mark only the confines of an early occupation of the basins of the upper Dniester, the Berezina, the upper Niemen (Nemunas) and the Neris rivers by Lett-Lithuanian tribes. That early group did not cross the Western Dvina and that is why, as it was previously said, the typical river and lake names are not numerous on the territories of Letgalia and Selonia and farther westwards.

It should be emphasized that K. Būga's map shows the distribution as it was in the 6th century, which cannot be accepted by the archaeologists who, on the basis of archaeological sources have the possibility to trace the uninterrupted development of those typologically uniform cultural elements at least since the middle of the first millenium before our era. It seems, and we have further good examples thereof from the neighbouring West-Baltic area, that the relation between the particular Baltic groups on the territory of the basins of the Dnieper, the upper Niemen and the Neris, as shown by K. Būga, reflects the real situation; there is only one question: of what time? This question however he could not answer exactly. His suggestion that it concerned the 6th century, is incorrect. The picture of the distribution of East-Baltic tribes on that territory was adequate at least to the end of the Bronze Age and to the beginning of the early Iron Age. Būga's suggestion that it was only after the 6th century that the Lett-Lithuanian tribes moved to the Baltic Sea, as a result of the Slavonic expansion to the north of the Kiev region, is inadmissible from the methodological point of view, being based on wrong assumptions and on an exaggerated theory migration, typical for the period in which Būga was working. It is enough to remind the traces of the Baltic burial rite, ascertained by V. V. Siedov<sup>29</sup> on the territories occupied by the Slavonic Kryvichi, Radymichi and Dregovichi and dating still from the early Middle Ages — to realize that, at that time, Baltic settlement not completely assimilated, must have existed there together with that of the Slavs<sup>30</sup>.

rodov v svete dannyh archeologii, „Voprosy etničeskoj istorii estonskogo naroda”, Tallinn 1956, p. 85.

<sup>28</sup> R. I n d r e k o, Die Asvakultur, „Bericht V International Kongress für Vor- und Frühgeschichte”, Berlin 1961.

<sup>29</sup> V. V. S i e d o v, Sledy vostočnobaltijskogo pogrebalnogo obrjada v kurganach drevnej Rusi, „Sovetskaja Archeologija”, (1961), no. 2, p. 103 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Attention was drawn to that by P. N. T r e t i a k o v, Finno-ugry, baity i slavjanie v oblasti verchnego tečenija Dnepru i Volgi.





his opinion that territory reached farther to the east, covering the whole middle Niemen basin and an area expanding in the meridian direction from Vilnius to the Baranovichi-Pinsk line<sup>31</sup>. River and lake names with the suffix *-da* (for example *Jasiołda*, *Sokołda*, *Rospuda* etc) can serve as traces of that original occupation. Names with that suffix can also be traced on the area occupied by Lett-Lithuanian tribes, which is explained by *Būga* by the temporary stay of the Sudovian tribes, before they moved farther to the west, to the southern Baltic shores. The former area of the Sudovian tribes was occupied in later times by the Lett-Lithuanians.

However, not only the proto-Sudovian names with the suffix *-da* are characteristic of that territory. Many place-names and those of rivers, which seem to be of Baltic origin, can be found in a part of Northern Masovia and therefore this part can also be included into the Baltic territory, this hypothesis being based on strong arguments of linguistic analysis<sup>32</sup>. In this respect the middle Narew basin in the region of the Zagajnica Łomżyńska Wilderness and the lower Biebrza basin are of particular interest<sup>33</sup>. The name of the Narew river is most controversial from the linguistic point of view. Some linguists, as for example W. Taszycki, believe it to be an old 14th century Polish name<sup>34</sup>, others, as J. Rozwadowski<sup>35</sup> and T. Lehr-Spławiński<sup>36</sup>, are of the opinion that it is probably of Baltic origin. To their arguments we might add the historical

<sup>31</sup> K. Būga, *Jotvingu žemes upių vardų galūne -da „Rinkiniai raštai“*, vol. III (1961), pp. 601—602 and V. V. Siedov, *Kurgany Jač'vjagov, „Sovetskaja Archeologija“*, no. 4 (1964), p. 39, fig. 1. The author supplemented the examples given by K. Būga. He did not take into consideration materials from the West-Prussian territory but he was right when stating that the name of the Skroda river was of West-Baltic origin. See also in this matter K. Būga, *Die Vorgeschichte des Aistischen (Baltischen) Stämme im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung, „Streitberg Festgabe“*, Leipzig 1924, p. 34.

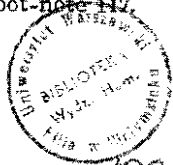
<sup>32</sup> K. Zierhoffer, *Nazwy miejscowe północnego Mazowsza*, Wrocław 1957, p. 144 and J. Wiśniewski's review in *„Onomastica“*, vol. V (1960), pp. 494—520, particularly pp. 517—519; J. Wiśniewski rightly observes that the river names occurring to the north of the Narew river „could have been given by the original population there, and that population was at least partially Prussian” (p. 519). In later times, those names were adopted by our colonists from Masovia who brought with themselves Slavonic names and by Prussian emigrants who brought with themselves foreign (Prussian) names of „the clan type”.

<sup>33</sup> See, A. Kamiński, *Wizna na tle pogranicza polsko-rusko-jaćwieskiego*, *„Rocznik Białostocki“*, vol. I (1961), pp. 10—16, and particularly map fig. 1.

<sup>34</sup> W. Taszycki, *Dwie nazwy rzeczne: Nary i Peity, „Slavia Occidentalis“*, vol. XII (1934), p. 41 ff.

<sup>35</sup> J. Rozwadowski, *Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich*, Kraków 1958, pp. 260 and 262.

<sup>36</sup> T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O pochodzeniu i proajczyźnie Słowian*, Kraków 1946, p. 65 and foot-note 117.



and archaeological ones. First, the most part of the middle Narew, from the Svisloch to the Biebrza rivers was probably in the sphere of the Baltic culture and of that of some Slavonic elements<sup>37</sup> in the Roman and Great Migration periods. It has been ascertained that it was not before the 10th—11th century, or a little earlier, that Slavonic settlement appeared in the Łomża region<sup>38</sup>. The appurtenance of the earlier occupation of this region to the sphere of the Slavonic culture is doubtful, at least as regards the early Iron Age, though in the Roman period some Slavonic settlements existed there, particularly in the region where there are now towns of Ostrołęka and Łomża. Moreover, there is a historical mention dated to the middle of the 10th century about an agreement made in Carogrod in the year 944. The early Russian (Ruthenian) party was represented there, among others, by a Jatvjag (Sudovian) called *Gunarev* or *Nounarev*<sup>39</sup>. W. T. Pašuto is of the opinion that it must have been a Sudovian named Gunarev who was the governor of the Narew region. To A. Kamiński this supposition seems to be doubtful<sup>40</sup>. Whatever the conclusions of this argumentation are, there is no doubt that the Narew basin belonged to "outskirts" from the cultural and ethnical points of view. Most probably, that area was Baltic in the earlier times and became a contact zone of Baltic and Slavonic elements in the early Middle Ages. At the same time, the Narew basin became the area of Masovian expansion and its upper part was occupied by the Dregovichi. As to earlier times — judging from hydronymia<sup>41</sup> — that territory was, at

<sup>37</sup> I mean here cemeteries consisting of barrows of the Rostokły type. See K. Jażdżewski, O kurhanach nad górną Narwią, „Z otchłani wieków”, vol. XIV (1939), pp. 1—22 and J. Jaskanis, Nowy import rzymski na Podlasiu, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. II (1961), pp. 393—398. Further results of the excavations of that type of archaeological sites, carried out by J. Jaskanis, will be published in the nearest future. See also D. Jaskanis, Groby ciałałpalne z okresu rzymskiego w miejsc. Zawyki, pow. Łapy; ibidem, pp. 401—415.

<sup>38</sup> See: J. Antoniewicz, Zabytki wczesnośredniowieczne odkryte we wsi Pieńki-Grodzisko, pow. Łomża, „Sprawozdania PMA”, vol. IV (1951), pp. 125—143 and A. Kamiński, Materiały do bibliografii archeologicznej Jaćwieży, od I do XIII wieku, „Materiały Starożytne”, vol. I (1956) and map. See id., *Wizna...*, cc. cit., p. 100 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Povest' vremennykh let'* red. Adrjanova-Peretz, vol. I (1950) — and „Nonnarev” according to *Ipatovskaja Letopis'* (P. SR. L II<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>40</sup> V. T. Pašuto, *Obrazovanie litovskogo gosudarstva*, Moskva 1959, p. 11. A. Kamiński is of different opinion in this matter, see, id., *Z badań nad pograniczem polsko-rusko-jaćwieskim w rejonie rzeki Sliny*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXIII (1956), p. 160.

<sup>41</sup> See for example V. N. Toporov, Dve zametki iz oblasti baltijsko toponimiki. O južnoj granice Jatvjagov, „Rakstu krājums Jānim Endzelinum”, Rīga 1959, pp. 251—256 and W. Kuraszkiewicz, Domniemany ślad Jadźwingów na Podlasiu, „Studia z filologii polskiej i słowiańskiej”, vol. I (1955), pp. 334—348. See

least partly, in the sphere of the West Baltic ethnical elements (from the Bronze Age). But the area situated along the Bug river was then in the sphere of the "Lusatian" culture<sup>42</sup>.

Finally the linguistic evidence concerning the Prussian territory to the west of the Great Lakes, in the Pregola basin up to the mouth of the Vistula, should be discussed. Unfortunately, that area has not been examined scrupulously by linguists. Two basic works by G. Gerulis<sup>43</sup> and by A. Trautmann<sup>44</sup>, usually mentioned when investigating the Prussian territory, were based, first of all, on written sources, namely on chronicles and documents of the Teutonic Knights. Alas, W. Horn<sup>45</sup>, who was continuing that work, confined it to the publication of the results of cartographic studies of the Baltic names on the Prussian territory. A further attempt, unfortunately an incomplete one too, has been made by a Polish scientist G. Leyding-Mielecki<sup>46</sup>. It was based chiefly on the results of an analysis of maps in confrontation with oral information obtained from the autochthonic Polish population. Polish interest in the hydronymia of that territory is still in the stage of postulates<sup>47</sup> and scientific first notices<sup>48</sup>.

also J. S. Otrębski, *Język Jaćwiagów „Woprosy slawjanskogo jazykoznanija”*, no. 5 (1961), pp. 3—8 and id. *Dainava, Nazwanije odnogo iz jatvjavskich plemjon*; *ibidem*, vol. VII (1963), pp. 3—8; id., *W sprawie Jaćwiągów, „Problemy”* no. 3 (1961), pp. 220—221; id., *Udział Jaćwiągów w ukształtowaniu języka polskiego, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”*, vol. I (1964), pp. 207—216 and J. Safarewicz's remarks in „*Język Polski*”, vol. XLI (1961), pp. 382—390.

<sup>42</sup> J. Dąbrowski, *Some Problems of Lusatian Culture in North-East Poland, „Archaeologia Polona”*, vol. II (1959), pp. 165—172 and id., *Materiały kultury łuzyckiej z Podlasia, „Materiały Starożytne”*, vol. VII (1961), pp. 23—44.

<sup>43</sup> G. Gerulis, *Altpreussische Ortsnamen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1922, p. 283. See also M. Vasmer's review in „*Prussia*”, vol. XXIV (1923), pp. 221—224, where he criticizes Gerulis who did not take into consideration Slavonic influences upon Prussian names. See also: H. Strunk, *Plan einer wiss. Sammlung aller Flurnamen Ost- und Westpreussen, „Altpreussische Forschungen”*, vol. II (1925), pp. 113—115.

<sup>44</sup> A. Trautmann, *Die altpreussische Personennamen*, Getynga 1925.

<sup>45</sup> W. Horn, *Die Verbreitung der preussischen Ortsnamen in Ostpreussen, „Prussia”*, vol. XXXII (1938), p. 58 ff. See also: H. Strunk, *Flurnamen u. Vorgesichte „Altpreussische Forschungen”*, vol. VII (1930), pp. 17—32 and vol. VIII (1931), pp. 1—45 and H. Łowmiański, „*Roczniki Społeczno-Gospodarcze*”, vol. II (1932/33), p. 516.

<sup>46</sup> G. Leyding-Mielecki, *Słownik nazw miejscowych okręgu mazurskiego*, part I—Olsztyn 1947, p. 207, part II—Poznań 1959 (*Nazwy fizjograficzne*), p. 549.

<sup>47</sup> P. Zwoliński, *Stan i perspektywy hydronimii polskiej, „I Międzynarodowa slawistyczna konferencja onomastyczna”*, Wrocław 1961, pp. 68—86.

<sup>48</sup> L. Zabrocki, *Nazewnictwo*, in the collective work: „*Warmia i Mazury*”, Poznań 1953, vol. I, pp. 265—278 and P. Zwoliński, *Nazwy toni rybackich jeziora Śniardwy, „Język Polski”*, vol. XXXIV (1954), pp. 281—304. See also: P. N. Kuś-

In spite of the elapse of so many years, we should continue referring in our considerations on Prussian hydronymia to the well-known statement of A. Bezenberger<sup>49</sup> on the discrimination of river-names ending with *-upe* and *-ape*. It is commonly known that the latter names are of Prussian origin, the first ones — of Lithuanian origin. Hypothetical dialects distinguished by J. Endzelin<sup>50</sup>, are, of course, another indication of the division of the Prussian territory. The characteristic difference between them consists, among others, in the fact that in the "Pomezanian" dialect, known from "The Elbląg Dictionary" there are \*ō : \*ā, whereas in the "Sambian" one there are \*e > \*i, known from "The Prussian Catechism". The spread of the latter dialect covered probably the lower and the middle basin of the Pregoła river including Sambia, Natangia and Nadrovia, whereas the "Pomezanian" dialect spread probably over the rest of the Prussian territory. As, according to Bezenberger, names with the suffix *-ape* do not appear in Pomezania, Galindia, the Sasin Region or in Sudovia — it seems that we may divide provisionally all Prussian territories into three zones which though they bear similar features — are really entirely different from the point of view of dialects and hydronymia. The first zone covers the territories bordering upon the area of the Slavs, namely upon the following "partes" according to Dusburg: Pomezania, Pomezania, the Sasin Region (Lubovia), Galindia and Sudovia<sup>51</sup>. The second zone would cover the next area with approximately the following provinces: Warmia as well as Great and Little Bartha. The Pomezanian dialect spread over this zone but, at the same time, the hydronymia ending with *-ape*, unknown in the first zone, occur here (for example *Węgorapa* (etc.)). In the third zone (Sambia, Natangia and Nadrovia), the Sambian dialect has been used; similar hydronymia to those of the second zone can be noticed there, but Nadrovia shows derivatives ending with *-upe* which are chronologically later, being an evidence of Lithuanian colonisation which started in the Middle Ages.

Thus the question arises: how do these hypothetical dialectal-hydronymic zones reflect in the general picture of material culture of the

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ner, Etničeskoje prošioje jugo-vostočnoj Pribaltiki in „Etničeskoje territorii i etničeskoje granicy”. Moskwa 1951, p. 160 ff.

<sup>49</sup> A. Bezenberger, Über die Verbreitung einiger Ortsnamen in Ostpreussen, „Altpreussische Monatsschrift”, vol. XX (1883), pp. 123—128 and N. Trubetzkoy, Zum Flussnamen Upa (lit: upė), „Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie”, vol. XIV (1937), pp. 553—554 and M. Vasmer, Nachtrag zum Namen Upa, ibidem, p. 354.

<sup>50</sup> J. Endzelin, Was ist im Altpreussischen aus ide. ō (und ā) geworden? „Studi Baltici”, vol. IV (1935), pp. 135—143 and id., Altpreussische Grammatik, Ryga 1944, p. 21 ff.

<sup>51</sup> It is characteristic that the Pomezanian, Lubavian, Galindian and Sudovian

Prussian tribes? The problem is not simple or easy for many reasons. Firstly, because beginning with the thirties of this century the fairly distinct character of each zone was blurred by the representatives of East-Prussian archaeology who tendenciously changed that picture of material culture adapting it to conceptions assumed in advance. Secondly, because we must realize that this problem has to be considered not in a "static way" but in its historical development, without confining it to one epoch or period.

There would be no sense to analyse all those transformations dating, at least, from the Epipalaeolithic to the early Middle Ages. It is a fact, however, that the southern zone, situated on the borderland of the Prussian tribal territory, shows much more culture-bearing layers than the rest of the Prussian territory. Moreover, the spread of those cultures, from the neolithic culture of the Globular Amphorae<sup>52</sup> to that with pots of the "Masovian type" dating from the early Middle Ages<sup>53</sup>, covers more or less the area of the first zone distinguished by us. All those cultures, or their features, show genethic connections with the Slavonic area. The Biebrza and Narew basins, as well as that of the upper Wkra (Działdówka) in Northern Masovia, show the same character of a borderland in various periods before the early Middle Ages. We may assume, therefore, that the first zone in Prussia distinguished by us, as well as the Mława Upland and the Łomża-Narew region were the Slavonic-Baltic borderlands (passage areas) before the early Middle Ages. On that area cultural features which can be linked with the Baltic territory and the Slavonic ones appeared in various periods: in the Roman period that area was

borderland is geographically connected with the Vistula basin, as all rivers of that area flow towards the Vistula. See. St. Srokowski, *Prusy Wschodnie*, Gdańsk 1945 (map. on p. 25). Such a zone of contacts as represented, for example, by Galindia, was discussed, from the theoretical-linguistic point of view, by J. Otrębski, *Słowianie*, Poznań 1947, p. 137 and recently id., *Zagadnienie Galindów*, „*Studia Historica w 35-lecie pracy naukowej H. Łowmiańskiego*”, Warszawa 1958, pp. 37—41. See also T. Milewski, *Stosunki językowe polsko-pruskie*, „*Slavia Occidentalis*”, vol. XVIII (1939—1947), pp. 21—55; the author is of the opinion that the etymology presented by K. Būga is more convincing than that of J. Otrębski. See K. Būga, *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, Kowno 1924, chapters LXIX and LXXII. K. Būga has proved that the Galindians were a Prussian tribe living on the borderlands. See also recently: B. Savukinas, „*Lietuvių Kalbotyros Klausimai*”, vol. VI (1963), p. 322, in that work J. Otrębski's view is criticized.

<sup>52</sup> See W. La Baume, *Die jüngsteinzeitliche Kugelamphoren-Kultur in Ost- und Westpreussen*, „*Prussia*”, vol. XXXV (1943), pp. 13—78 — map.

<sup>53</sup> K. Musianowicz, *Mazowieckie naczynia z cylindryczną szyjką na tle słowiańskiego materiału porównawczego*, „*Wiadomości Archeologiczne*”, vol. XVIII (1951/52), pp. 345—384 and about the Masovian influences upon Prussian pottery-making see, J. Antoniewicz, *Příspěvek k'problému vlivů zapadních Slovanů na hraničářství Prusů*, „*Vznik a počátky Slovanů*”, vol. II (1958), pp. 211—223.



probably Baltic. It was not before the early Middle Ages that the Slavs and the Balts approached one another; the area dividing them was about 50 km of an unoccupied or scarcely peopled wilderness. In the course of time the two kinds of settlement met and a border line was consequently created in next centuries<sup>54</sup>.

Inside the Prussian territory, i.e. in the zone, we distinguished as second, the situation is different. It has been, since the most ancient times, the area of autochthonic Baltic elements, without any foreign influences, except for a small episode that took place in the Roman period, namely the so-called culture of the Goths which in its spread covered the southern part of Warmia too<sup>55</sup>. In the third zone an uninterrupted development of autochthonic elements till the early Middle Ages can also be noticed. We should not, of course, take into consideration ethnically foreign influences, as for example the Scandinavians who established themselves in Sambia and in the Elbląg region (Truso) etc., as these influences as regards the demographic and linguistic relations in particular parts of Prussia were very weak. The „Gothic” episode in Pomesania and Pomezania, as well as in a part of Warmia, which took place in the Roman period, had also but a small bearing on the demo-

<sup>54</sup> I discussed this problem in the following publications: J. Antoniewicz, *Problem granicy etnicznej między Mazowszem a Prusami we wczesnym średniowieczu*, „Szkice z dziejów Pomorza” edited by G. Labuda, vol. I (1958), pp. 138—141, the article in the collective work entitled „Z dziejów Warmii i Mazur”, Olsztyn 1958, pp. 19—24 and „Notatki Płockie”, 1957, pp. 2—5. See also Wł. Chojnacki, „Osadnictwo polskie na Mazurach w XIII—XVII w.” in „Szkice z dziejów Pomorza”, vol. II (1959), p. 5 ff. These problems, however, are still waiting for solution.

<sup>55</sup> „The Lusatian culture” in Prussia is excluded from my considerations as, in the light of recent research, that culture in Prussia seems to be only the „Lusatian style” without any ethnical consequences. See recently J. Antoniewicz, *Osiedla obronne okresu wczesnożelaznego w Prusach*, „Światowit”, vol. XXV (1964), p. 206 ff. It seems that J. Dąbrowski is of similar opinion in his article: „Zagadnienie genezy pochówków ciałopalnych na Warmii i Mazurach” in „Komunikaty mazursko-warmijskie”, no. 1(83), 1964, p. 18. J. Kostrzewski’s view is different, *Stosunki między kulturą łużycką a bałtycką a zagadnienie wspólnoty językowej bałto-słowiańskiej*, „Slavia Antiqua”, vol. V (1956), pp. 1—75. It seems that J. Kostrzewski does not notice that the elements of the „Lusatian” culture in Prussia are peripheral, on the borderland of two „ethnoses” of the Balts and of the Slavs. See, from the methodological point of view, S. De Laet, *Archeologia i jej problemy*. Warszawa 1960, p. 102. See also J. Antoniewicz, *Polskie badania archeologiczne nad Bałtami w okresie powojennym (1945—1947)*, „Rocznik Olsztyński” vol. I (1958), p. 360; in my work I have opposed the view that the problem of the Baltic-Slavonic community could be solved on the archaeological basis, taking into consideration only Poland and Prussia, in my opinion we should consider the large territories to the Oka and the upper Volga basins as well as the Slavonic areas upon the lower Dnieper river.

graphic relations there. It is quite possible that neither the Goths nor the Gepids have ever lived on these territories <sup>56</sup>.

A few critical words should be devoted to the achievements of the representatives of East-Prussian archaeology in the period between the two World Wars, particularly in the thirties before the outbreak of World War II. The most eminent of them was C. Engel <sup>57</sup>. Taking as a starting point the division of the whole Prussian territory into particular parts, according to Dusburg, a chronicler of the Teutonic Order — C. Engel tried to show by retrogressive method the history of those times from the early Middle Ages to the most ancient times. His attempt was based on a quasi differentiation of the picture of the culture of various tribal territories, as described by Dusburg. On the basis of certain cultural forms only, he assumes a general cultural differentiation of the various geographic and historical regions which, in later times, became more or less densely occupied areas of various Prussian tribes. Engel would have been right, if he had tried to find tribal centres of earlier periods by an analysis of the distribution of settlements, and to discover criteria "in fields" to define, by the archaeological method, the extent of various tribal "oikoumene" <sup>58</sup>. To be fair, we must admit that he could not do that, considering the state of archaeological research on the Prussian territory in that period. Moreover, which is most important, he was not anxious to use for this purpose the criteria of division worked out by other branches of science, as for example by historical geography, linguistics

<sup>56</sup> See a very interesting study by J. Kmieciński entitled: *Zagadnienie kultury gocko-gepickiej na Pomorzu Wschodnim w okresie wczesnorzymskim*. Łódź 1962, particularly p. 155. He regards graves with stone stelae as one of elements of Scandinavian culture to the south of the Baltic Sea. The stelae occur on the territory of interest to us at three places (at Pielgrzymowo, Nidzica district, in Sambia and in Warmia). They are, may be, the only evidence of the presence of the Scandinavian population on that territory in the Roman period. See also D. Waetzold, *Die Goten u. ihre Einfluss auf die altpreussische Kultur*, „Altpreussen", vol. III (1938), pp. 43—44; his remarks are, however, not particularly convincing.

<sup>57</sup> C. Engel, *Die kaiserzeitlichen Kulturgruppen zwischen Weichsel und finischen Meerbusen und ihr Verhältnis zueinander*, „Prussia", vol. XXX (1930), p. 261 ff. Id., *Vorgeschichte der altpreussischen Stämme*, Królewiec 1935 and C. Engel und W. La Baume, *Kulturen und Völker der Frühzeit im Preussenlande*, Królewiec 1937 and maps.

<sup>58</sup> The Sudovian Complex Expedition tried to use such methods. See J. Antonicz, *Wyniki dotychczasowych badań starożytnego osadnictwa jaćwieskiego w dorzeczu Czarnej Hańcy*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne", vol. XXV (1958), pp. 1—19 and id., *The Sudovians*, Białystok 1962, pp. 8—14. See also, J. Jaskanis, *Z problematyki dotychczasowych badań archeologicznych nad Jaćwieżą w I tys.n.e. na obszarze górnego dorzecza Czarnej Hańcy*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica", vol. I (1984), pp. 49—63. An interesting attempt, from the point of view of linguistics and historic-

etc. He made use only of archaeological sources and of the division according to Dusburg. He regarded the form of the burial as a basic criterion for distinguishing particular tribes. Thus he took into consideration archaeological observations from the field of ideological superstructure and not the general group of features and the general picture of the culture of the given territory which he had distinguished on the basis of criteria being the result of methods and achievements of various similar disciplines. What was the basic methodological error of that German author? — In my opinion, it consists, first of all, in the fact that the form of the burial cannot serve as a sufficient criterion for distinguishing some tribal territory and the borders of its "oikoumene", as it represents too unimportant a fact within the whole picture of material spiritual culture of the given community. On the other hand, the burial rite (inhumations, cremations and their variants as far as the grave structure is concerned) cannot be absolutely typical of such a small area as the tribal territory named by Dusburg<sup>59</sup>. Such an area would have covered no more than several present districts. It is commonly known that the final form of the burial was determined not only by factors connected with traditional beliefs of the given region of Europe, but also by local morphological conditions which made a certain form of the burial possible (erratic boulders, the kind of subsoil etc.). Thus a given way of burying was influenced, on the one hand, by interregional beliefs, and on the other — by purely practical possibilities of building one or another burial structure. The shape of the burial structure did not appear suddenly, but it reflected the evolutionary changes which sometimes took several centuries. Generally speaking, the choice of just that secondary feature as a starting point for the considerations on the tribal division of the Prussian territory — must arouse doubts from the essential and methodological points of view. For example, barrows were being built on the Prussian territory, from the year 1000 to about 300 before our era, on the whole area to the east of the Pasłęka river. This common occurrence of that only kind of graves was interpreted by C. Engel in such way that he used the definition "Hügelgräberkultur" concerning that territory and that period which is a nonsense both from the historical and the typological points of view<sup>60</sup>. That definition covers,

al sources, has been made by J. Nalepa in his work „Jaćwięgowie. Nazwa i lokalizacja”, Białystok 1964, p. 40 ff and map.

<sup>59</sup> P. Dusburg, *Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, pars. III, § 3.

<sup>60</sup> C. Engel, *Aus Ostpreussischer Vorzeit*, Królewiec 1935, p. 52 and fig. 31. In Polish literature C. Engel's conceptions were criticized by A. Kamiński in „Materiały Starożytne”, vol. I (1956), pp. 197—198 by J. Okulicz in „Rocznik Olsztyński”, vol. I (1958), pp. 111—112 and by J. Antoniewicz, „Światowit”, vol. XXV (1964), pp. 169—170.

of course, many tribal groups which lived in Prussia in that period, and that type of burial lasted on some Prussian areas even till the Roman period<sup>61</sup>. Moreover, it is commonly known that the domain of social consciousness represented by the cult of the dead is burdened with traditional customs and notions, specific to a given "ethnos", but shows analogies of a wider spread. This domain of consciousness did not correspond to then actual level of productive forces of a given community. That is why the consideration of the quasi-differentiation or of the political, economic and social division of a certain territory into smaller administrative and political units on the basis of that criterion—must lead astray and create a false picture of the reality.

But let us go back to the linguistic sources. It should be emphasized that not only the hydronymia are the basic factor serving to distinguish particular tribal territories, or their ethnical borders on a given area. In that case, the hydronymic data may be completed by an additional argument based on the extent of modern dialects. As mentioned before, it is useful for our considerations to examine the connection between the extent of the "Sambian" and the "Pomezanian" dialects; both defined by J. Endzelin. His remarks provided us with a basis for pondering on the tribal and dialectal division of the Prussian territory. While considering the territory where the Lett-Lithuanian dialects have been spoken, we may notice that there has been a distinct line of demarcation between the western and the eastern dialects<sup>62</sup>. The extent of the dialects of eastern and western Aukštota, as well as of those of Letgalia and Sełonia, (i.e. the upper Latvian ones) coincided with that of fortified and open settlements of the Brushed Pottery<sup>63</sup>. It has been also observed that the upper Latvian dialects showed connections with the East-Lithuanian and the Byelorussian ones. The extent of those dialects defined, at the same time, the western and the north-western borders of settlement with the Brushed Pottery. On the other hand, the northern, north-eastern and eastern borders could be marked out by the North-Byelorussian dialects. The area of the Pskov dialect was a passage zone<sup>64</sup>. It should be emphasiz-

<sup>61</sup> See J. Antoniewicz, *Wyniki badań...*, loc. cit., p. 2 and plate p. 13, also J. Jaskanis, *Z problematyki dotychczasowych badań...*, loc. cit., p. 52 ff.

<sup>62</sup> See J. Otrębski, *Gramatyka języka litewskiego*, vol. I, Warszawa 1958 and particularly the map drawn on the basis of A. Salys work (1933).

<sup>63</sup> H. A. Moora, *O drevnej territorii rasselenija baltijskich plemion*, „Sovetskaja Archeologija”, 1958, p. 24 (map).

<sup>64</sup> As to the Pskov dialect see recently R. I. Avanosov, *Voprosy obrazovanija russkogo jazyka v ego gavorach*, „Vestnik Mos. Gos. Univ.”, no. 9 (1947), pp. 131—132. See also an old but interesting work by Ju. Ju. Trysman, *Čudskolitovskije elementy v novgorodskih pjatinach*, Revel 1898 and M. Vasmer, *Balten und Finnen im Gebiet von Pskov*, „Studii Baltici”, vol. III (1933), p. 27 ff.

ed that the extent of the North-Byelorussian dialects coincided with the area of the widest extent of settlement with the Brushed Pottery of the Byelorussian group in the Berezina basin and in a part of the upper Dnieper basin (on its left bank). Mutual dialectologic relations with other "ethnoses", which were not components in the first stage of the process of the ethnogenesis of Latvian-Lithuanian tribes were similar. H. Moora's observations<sup>65</sup> in this matter, concerning phenomena from outside the extent of settlement with the Brushed Pottery, are very interesting. In his opinion, the Samogitian dialects of the Lithuanian language adopted a part of the Curonian slang; an other part of this slang created the Curonian group of the Lower-Latvian dialect. According to R. Fraenkel<sup>66</sup>, the Curonian slangs were similar in their vocabulary to the Prussian dialects, which is quite clear if we take into consideration a natural platform which had existed between that group and Sambia along the Courish Lagoon. It is almost certain that the "dzukow" dialect in the Vilnius region had much in common, both in its fonetics and in its vocabulary, with the Byelorussian language. This is explained by many authors by the Baltic substratum<sup>67</sup> still existing in the Byelorussian language and which was adopted when the territory of Byelorussia was slavonized in the second half of the Ist millenium of our era.

In the light of these considerations, it is obvious that the extent of the Lett-Lithuanian and Byelorussian dialects reflects distinctly the ethnical borders between the particular Baltic groups, notwithstanding how we call them now. As mentioned before, there is, for example, a striking similarity in the occurrence of the Eastern and Central Lithuanian as well as Upper Latvian dialects, on the one hand, and of the Northern Byelorussian ones on the other. On the area of those dialects, coinciding with that of the extent of settlement with the Brushed Pottery, the pre-fatherland of the Lithuanian tribes should be looked for<sup>68</sup>. The Eastern Baltic tribes are connected with the second group of the Northern Byelorussian dialects occurring upon the upper Dnieper in the Smolensk region. Their extent coincides with that of the culture of the Smolensk

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representing the modern view on the Baltic-Finnic contacts. See also: V. Kiparsky, *The Earliest Contact of the Russians with the Finns and Balts*, „Oxford Slavonic Papers”, vol. III (1952), pp. 67—79.

<sup>65</sup> H. A. Moora, *O drevnej territorii rasselenija baltijskich...*, loc. cit., p. 32.

<sup>66</sup> E. Fraenkel, *Die baltischen Sprachen*, Heidelberg 1950, p. 60.

<sup>67</sup> H. A. Moora, *O rasselenii baltijskich...*, loc. cit., p. 32.

<sup>68</sup> F. D. Gurevič is of different opinion in his work: *Drevnosti Beloruskogo Ponemanija*, Moskva 1962, p. 35, which does not seem right. See interesting methodical remarks published as motions of the conference held at the end of the year 1964 in Moskva: „Problemy lingvo- i etnogeografii i arealnoj dialektologii”, Moskva 1954, pp. 1—39.

earthworks<sup>69</sup> with the Plain Pottery. In the light of all these linguistic and archaeological parallelisms, the distinct particular tribal groups of the Baltic peoples in far away Antiquity are clearly noticeable. I believe that the mutual confrontation of the results of archaeological and linguistic studies confirms our scientific achievements and makes our considerations more credible. The exciting past of the Baltic peoples gains in this way strong methodical and methodological bases. A historical synthesis, arisen within the frames of one discipline, without any control of similar disciplines, may be set wrongly, particularly if we have at our disposal only such insufficient sources for ethnical problems as, alas, the archaeological ones<sup>70</sup>. The widening of our sources by toponymic data, particularly by the valuable hydronymia and the dialectology, provides more durable bases for our conclusions. Toponymic studies may show groups of names, hydronymia in particular, the origin of which can be linked with some linguistic-ethnic groups. Dialectology, on the other hand, showing the tendencies of development, typical of certain linguistic areas, may lead to the conclusion that these tendencies derive from the linguistic substratum which had existed on those areas in the past<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> P. N. Treťiakov and E. A. Schmidt, *Drevnije gorodišča Smoleńšči-ny*, Moskva 1963, p. 3 ff.

<sup>70</sup> It is impossible to mention here the abundant literature devoted to this subject. Recent works on this subject are those of K. Moszyński, *O sposobach badania kultury materialnej Prasłowian*, Warszawa 1962, p. 93 ff, of W. Hensel, *Z dziedziny metodyki kultury materialnej Prasłowian*, „*Slavia Antiqua*”, vol. XI (1964), pp. 188—192 criticizing Moszyński's view and of H. Łowmiański representing another point of view in this matter „*Acta Baltico-Slavica*”, vol. I (1964), pp. 107—108 (on the cultural and linguistic unity of Baltic tribes).

<sup>71</sup> M. J. Grinblat's, work: *K'woprosu ob učasti litovcev v etnogenezie bielorussov*, in „*Voprosy etničeskoj istorii narodov Pribaltiki*” vol. I, Moskva 1959, pp. 529—543, can serve as an example of how the results of linguistic research should be used for the studies of the extent of a given „ethnos”. Mutual connections between the Prussian-Lithuanian and the Lithuanian-Latvian slangs as well as those between the East-Lithuanian slangs and the Byelorussian language, showing ancient contacts, are presented by V. Grinaveckis in his: *Novoje v litovskoj dialektologii*, „*Acta Baltico-Slavica*”, vol. II (1965), pp. 177—201.





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HUMAN BURIALS WITH HORSES IN PRUSSIA AND SUDOVIA  
IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM OF OUR ERA

I. Burials of some dead with their horses belong to one of the rather rare phenomena, noted in the burial rite of peoples inhabiting central and northern Europe in ancient times. This custom was particularly popular at the close of the first and the turn of the second millennium of our era among the Baltic tribes, both those of the western, ancient-Prussian group and those of the eastern one, mainly in the Lithuanian territory.

From the written, mediæval sources, describing the historical events in the territories of the Prussians and the Lithuanians, it is known that horses played a considerable role in the burial rite of those peoples. According to Dusburg, it was a custom, that a nobleman was cremated after his death together with his weapons, horses, hunting dogs, women, servants and a number of other property. That was confirmed later in a chronicle by Mikołaj Jeroszyn. In the text of the Christburg Treaty of 1249 — with regard to the Prussians (the Natangians, the Pomezanians, the Warmians), as well as in the rhymed livonian Chronicle — with regard to the Samogitans and Prussian inhabitants of Sambia — it is mentioned that horses were killed on the occasion of burials of their owners<sup>1</sup>.

Burials with horses appearing both in ancient- Prussian and Lithuanian cemeteries confirm the above-mentioned data. These materials permit us to be more closely acquainted with the problem of interest to us from the chronological point of view in both, the formal, external expression of the burial rite and its essential aspect, revealing to some extent, definite cultural characteristics of the discovered facts. These materials are also helpful in drawing conclusions of social character. Written sources explicitly evaluate to which social group those dead,

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<sup>1</sup> A. Mierzyński, *Źródła do mytologii litewskiej*, part I, Warszawa 1892, pp. 88—90, 114—124 (where there are mentions about the cremations of people as well as of horses), part II, Warszawa 1892, pp. 5—9 and Dusburg and pp. 55—69 Mikołaj Jeroszyn.

whose grave-furniture were completed with a horse burial should be assigned. Only archaeological material answers the question whether this custom was observed with regard to those who represented the populace. The first discoveries of horse burials were made relatively long ago, on the Baltic territories. Discoveries of cremation graves with horse burials in the Szczytno district were mentioned at the beginning of the 19th century. As no systematic excavations were carried out at this site, those finds give no certainty<sup>2</sup>. The majority of graves containing horse remains were discovered in the second part of the 19th and at the beginnings of the 20th century. This fact resulted from an animated territorial activity of the Archaeological Centre in Królewiec (Koenigsberg), particularly in the territories of historical Sambia and Natangia, as well as from that carried on by Polish, Lithuanian and Russian explorers in the territory of former Lithuania. In the between-war period, numerous new materials were obtained, in majority not worked out, and destroyed during the war, and are known only from laconic and general mentions about the discoveries, recently made in the territory of the Great Mazurian Lakes region and in the Pregola basin<sup>3</sup>.

Fairly numerous graves with horse burials were discovered in Lithuania and recently in the north-eastern Poland, in the Suwałki region. The Lithuanian discoveries earlier drew the special attention of the explorers. They were shortly commentated by M. Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė in her work dealing with the burial rite in Lithuania<sup>4</sup>. A. Kulikauskienė more broadly described burials with horses, devoting to this problem a separate study<sup>5</sup>. Precise remarks on this subject also found place in other works by this authoress, as well as in the articles by A. Tautavicius and the others<sup>6</sup>. The mentioned authors concentrated their attention rather on formal aspects and on the possibility of a social

<sup>2</sup> W. Hensche, Einiges zur Kenntnis der Todterbestattung bei den heidnischen Preussen, „Schriften der physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg“, vol. II (1861), Königsberg 1862, pp. 137—138.

<sup>3</sup> The yearly collections of the periodical „Nachrichtenblatt für deutsche Vorzeit, Altpreussen“, „Elbinger Jahrbuch“, years 1920-ies and 30-ies of our century; C. Engel — shortly about the Sambian findings — „Vorgeschichte der altpreussischen Stämme“, vol. I Königsberg 1935, pp. 68—69.

<sup>4</sup> M. Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė, Die Bestattung in Litauen in der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit, Tübingen 1946, pp. 137—138 and W. Antoniewicz, Czasy przedhistoryczne i wczesnodziejowe Ziemi Wileńskiej, „Wilno i Ziemia Wileńska“, vol. II, Wilno 1930, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> R. Kulikauskienė, Pogrebenija z koniami u drevnich Litovcev, „Sovetskaja Archeologija“, vol. XVII, Moskva 1953, pp. 210—222.

<sup>6</sup> R. Kulikauskienė, Klasines visumenes Susidarymas Lietuvoje „V. V. U. Istorijos Filologijos Fakulteto Mosklo Darbai“, Vilnius 1955, vol. I, pp. 120—137; A. Tautavičius, Rytu Lietuvos pilkapiai, „Lietuvos TSR Mokslu Akademijos

interpretation of these phenomena, than on its religious aspect. Findings from ancient-Prussian territories, i.e. from territories of historical Sambia, Natangia, Nadrovia, Sudovia, Galindia and other areas of former Prussia, have not been subjected to separate studies, so far. They were analysed only within the frame of material studies and no particular attention was drawn to them. An exception in this respect was, maybe, the study of Captain v. Bönigk, who endeavoured to comment upon his own, amateurish exploration of the early-mediaeval part of the cemetery at Powarówka in Sambia, where he discovered numerous horse skeletons<sup>7</sup>. W. Gaerte, in commentating the early-mediaeval relations in his book on archaeology of ancient eastern Prussia, also deals a bit with the subject<sup>8</sup>. In this article I would like to present the new discoveries of burials with horses, made during the last ten years in the north-eastern territories of Poland, in the eastern part of historical Sudovia<sup>9</sup>. Those are not, however, the first finds of this type in this part of the country. Barrow graves with horses under stone-mounds, dating from the second half of the 1st millennium, were discovered in the territories assigned to the Sudovians, namely at Boćwinka<sup>10</sup>, and Grunajki<sup>11</sup>, in the Gołdap

Darbai", series A-1, 1955, pp. 87—98; A. Tautavičius, Vostočnolitovskie kurgany, „Trudy Pribaltijskoi Ekspedicii", vol. I, p. 135 ff; A. Tautavičius, Kapitoniškiu pilkapiai, „Lietuvos TSR Mokslu Akademijos Darbai", series A-1(2), Vilnius 1957, pp. 95—109; F. D. Gurevič, Obriady pogrebeniā v Litve, „Kratkije Soobščenia IMK" vol. XVIII, p. 32; O. Novickaitė, Žirgo apranga Veršvu Kapinyne, „Lis Lietuviu Kulturos Istorijos" vol. I, Vilnius 1958, pp. 83—93.

<sup>7</sup> Kpt. v. Bönigk, Der Galgenberg von Kirpehnen, „Altpreussische Monatschrift", vol. XV (1878), p. 344.

<sup>8</sup> W. Gaerte, Urgeschichte Ostpreussens, Königsberg 1929, pp. 324—325.

<sup>9</sup> C. Engel, Die kaiserzeitlichen Kulturgruppen zwischen Weichsel und finnischen Meerbusen, „Prussia", vol. XXX-1 (1933), pp. 261—268; C. Engel u. W. La Baume, Kulturen und Völker der Frühzeit im Prussenlande, Königsberg 1937 — assuming that the Sudovian settlements reached a wider territory westwards; also the critical remarks by A. Kamiński, Materiały do bibliografii archeologicznej Jaćwieży od I do XIII w., „Materiały Starożytne", Warszawa 1958, pp. 196—197. The early-mediaeval territory is defined by A. Gieysztor, Jaćwież, „Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich", vol. II, part 2, Warszawa 1965, p. 304. In his article the author applies the definition „Sudovia" with regard to the East-Mazurian region lying westwards from the Łęg as well as to the territories in the Gołdap river basin, being aware, however, that the above mentioned definition is fairly hypothetical as far as the phenomena noted in the first millennium of our era are concerned. The East-Mazurian territories as well as those lying farther eastwards, in the Suwałki—Augustów Great Lakes region had close cultural links with the first millennium of our era. Compare with J. Jaskanis, Badania archeologiczne w woj. białostockim w latach 1945—1963, „Rocznik Białostocki", vol. V, Białystok 1964, pp. 112—113; See A. Kamiński, Jaćwież, Łódź 1953, pp. 27—28, notes 30.

<sup>10</sup> K. Stadie, Gräberfeld bei Alt-Bodschwingken, „Prussia — Ber.", vol. XXIII, part II, 1919, p. 431.

district, as well as at Sypitki, the Ełk district<sup>12</sup> and Liepynai, today in the south-western Lithuania<sup>13</sup>. These discoveries, important because of noting the fact of interest to us, are not of a great contribution, however, as they concern destroyed barrows, and are not precisely presented in suitable publications. The same, though to a, maybe, smaller extent refers to the discoveries made at Prudziszki and Raczki in the district of Suwałki, which we shall yet have an occasion to mention in the further part of this article. The importance of the recent discoveries lies in the fact that they were achieved through, a systematic exploration of territories which, still recently, have been but poorly explored by archaeologists, but which, in the later period, constituted the nucleus of the area inhabited by the Sudovians<sup>14</sup>. Finally they deal with the period from the 3rd till the 7th century of our era, that means with the period considerably preceding the relations, mentioned by mediæval chroniclers. These examinations will be presented against a broader, comparative background from the west-Baltic territory. This will permit to reveal some cultural links first of all in the field of the burial rite in the Sudovian territories and in the remaining west-Baltic area, to which they can be ascribed on the base both of archaeological and linguistic criterions<sup>15</sup>, and also commented in the light of recent materials from older findings. Following other authors, by western-Baltic region in the first millennium of our era I understand, first of all, the historical territories of Sambia, Natangia, Nadrovia, Sudovia (Jaćwież), Galindia and the others which constituted a part of the ancient-Prussian tribal territories, mentioned by Dusburg, i.e. those lying south and west from the lower and middle Nemunas (Niemen) basin, in the Suwałki and Augustów as well as Warmian-Mazovian Great Lakes regions<sup>16</sup>. Taking into consideration

<sup>12</sup> H. Dewitz, „Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie“ vol. IV, 1872, Verhandlungen der Berl. Ges. f. Anthr. Ethn. u. Urgeschichte, p. 179.

<sup>13</sup> C. Engel, Planmäßige Erschliessung der litauischen Kultur. Grosses sudausisches Gräberfeld im Kreise Lyck, „Unsere Heimat“ t. XVI-15, Allenstein 1934, p. 176.

<sup>14</sup> M. Alseikaite-Gimbutiene, Die Bestattung..., o.c., pp. 80—81, 193.

<sup>15</sup> J. Nalepa, Jaćwięgowie, Białystok 1964, where there are the details concerning the origin of the definition „Jaćwięż“.

<sup>16</sup> K. Jażdżewski, Bałtowie, „Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich“, vol. I, part I, Warszawa 1961, p. 73, as well as the quotations from the literature; J. Saffarewicz, Bałtyckie języki i ich narzecza, p. 77 ff; J. S. Otrębski, Jazyk Jatyviagov, „Voprosy Slovianskogo Jazykoznanja“ No. 5, Moskwa 1961, pp. 3—8; J. Nalepa; Jaćwięgowie, o.c., p. 45, the annotation 242.

<sup>16</sup> Excluding, however, the territories of the later Scalovia. Compare H. Łowmiański, Prusy Pogańskie, Toruń 1935, pp. 18—20, as well as of the both middle and lower courses of the Szeszupa river. Compare J. Nalepa, Jaćwięgowie, o.c., p. 45; C. Engel, W. La Baume, Kulturen und Völker..., o.c.

that in the Roman period, the territories lying south from the Paślęka as well as those in the basin of the middle Łyna river constituted an area of settlement of the population of the Venedian culture<sup>17</sup>, those archaeological sites of the above-mentioned regions which are dating from the period beginning not earlier than about the second half of the first millennium of our era, will be the subject of this article.

In the above-mentioned territories, during the last ten years, the explorations of the Baltic cemeteries, dating from the first millennium of our era have been carried out exclusively in the Suwałki and Augustów Great Lakes region. They permit to distinguish, apart the so far known, still two tribal complexes, differing, among others, with some features of the burial rite and grave pottery. The northern group, which is better known<sup>18</sup>, is located between the basins of the middle Czarna Hańcza and the upper Rospuda rivers, and characterizes itself with the barrow-form of graves with stone-mounds as well as with considerable variety of burial forms, from inhumations (the 2rd—4th cent.) through cremations without urns (the 5th cent.) till the mass-cremation urn containing burials in the family-barrows (6th—7th cent.). A characteristic tendency in the burial rite, expressing itself in a gradual limitation of grave-furniture till almost its complete lack in the urn-containing burials has been also noted. It is characteristic that weapons which formerly (before the middle of the century) had been a permanent element of the furniture in the male-graves, became completely eliminated. Beads, brooches, spindle-whorls, awls and belt-buckles occur only sporadically.

The cemeteries of the southern group, occurring in the lowland region of the Augustów Great Lakes, are characterized with a relative uniformity and constancy in forms of the cremation-burials, mostly without urns, which appear in flat graves. There is also a permanent tendency to a fairly abundant "endowment" of the dead with bronze and silver adornments as well as with weapons<sup>19</sup>. Burials with horses occurred in the cemeteries of the both above-mentioned regions. They are known from cemeteries consisting of barrows at Osowa, site 1, Szwajcaria, Korkliny sites 1 and 2, and as far as former explorations are concerned, at Prudziszki, site 1, and also in the first cemetery at Netta and Raczki (fig. 1).

<sup>17</sup> W. Gaerte, Die Ostgrenze der gotischen Weichselmündungskultur in der römischen Kaiserzeit, „Mannus” vol. XXIV-4 (1932), pp. 561—563.

<sup>18</sup> J. Jaskanis, Z problematyki dotychczasowych badań archeologicznych nad Jaćwieżą w I tysiącleciu n.e. na obszarze górnego dorzecza Czarnej Hańczy, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. I, Białystok 1964, pp. 49—63; J. Antoniewicz, The Sudovians, Białystok 1962.

<sup>19</sup> The first materials, published by J. Marciniak, Dwa cmentarzyska ciałopalne z okresu rzymskiego w Judzikach i Bargłowie Dwornym, pow. Augu-

II. Horse bones were found in three barrows in the barrow cemetery at Osowa, explored in the period 1956—1961. This cemetery was in use in the period from the beginning of the 3th century till of 6th cent. Horse skeletons were discovered in barrows nos. 41 and 11, in the rectangular grave-pits, 1—1.5 m. deep, situated close to the centre of the barrows where human burials were located. The barrow no. 41, one of the biggest in this cemetery<sup>20</sup>, was an inhumation male-grave, furnished with a spear head, an umbo (shield-boss) a spur, all dated to the 6th century of our era. In barrow No. 11, of the usual seize, a grave-pit was located in its centre, containing cremated remains of four persons: a man, aged about 30, whose bones together with a knife were deposited at the bottom of the grave-pit and, on a higher level, the remains of two women and a child with a miniature pottery and an amber bead, dated to the 5th century of our era<sup>21</sup>.

Grave-pits with horse skeletons were in both cases 0.6—0.9 m. west from the human burials, situated along the north-southern line. The skeleton arrangements were identical, but in barrow No. 41 the horse was oriented with its fore part towards the north, while in barrow No. 11 — contrarily. The horses were in a lying position with contracted limbs, the neck strongly arched back to the left and the head put down, close to the side (fig. 2). The grave goods were the same: a plain bit in a horse-mouth, and three buckles from harness - one at the bottom of the neck and on each side one. Pieces of charcoal as well as hips of burnt things occurred at the bottom of the grave-pith in their different parts. The examination of the bone-remains of the horse found in barrow No. 11,

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stów, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” vol. XVII-I (1950), J. Okulicz, Cmentarzysko z III—V w. n.e. w miejsc. Netta pow. Augustów, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXII (1955) and W. Gronau, Ausgrabungen an der Grenze Ostpreussens, „Germanen Erbe” vol. VII (1942), pp. 124—125. The other explorations have been made, among the others, at Sypitki, the Ełk region. Compare Planmässige Erschliessung..., o.c., p. 170, Borzymach pow. Ełk — „Unsere Heimat” 1933, No. 1, p. 250, „Unser Masurenland”, 1933, No. 20, pp. 79—80. M. Kaczyński has carried on the systematic examinations in the cemetery at Netta, which are of fundamental character for the region. I am indebted to him for his broad information given to me in a friendly way.

<sup>20</sup> D. Jaskanis, J. Jaskanis, Sprawozdanie z badań w 1957 r. na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w m. Osowa pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXVII (1961), pp. 40—41.

<sup>21</sup> J. Jaskanis, Sprawozdanie z badań w 1956 r. na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w m. Osowa pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” vol. XXV (1958), p. 88; T. Dzierżykraj-Rogalski i E. Promińska, Szczątki kostne z grobów ciałopalnych, wydobyte w 1956 r. na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w Osowej pow. Suwałki, „Materiały i Prace Antropologiczne-Zakładu Antropologii PAN”, Wrocław 1962.

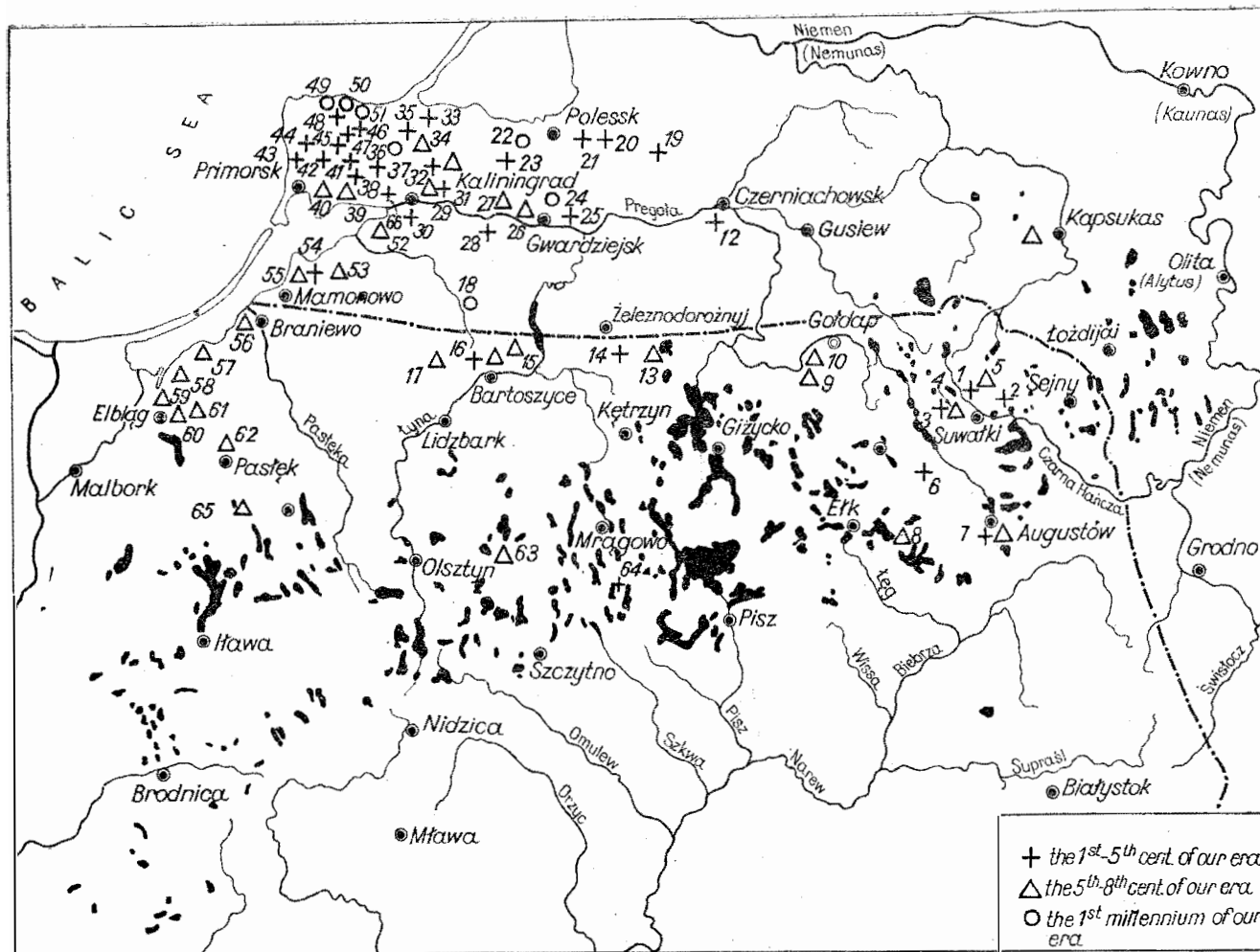


Fig. 1. A map with the localization of the cemeteries in which there have been discovered human burials with horses, dating from the first 500 years of our era as well as from the second half of the first millennium of our era, and, too, burials generally assigned to the first millennium of our era.

- 1 — Csowa st. I; 2 — Szwajcaria; 3 — Korkliny st. II; 4 — Korkliny st. I; 5 — Prudziszki; 6 — Raczki, Suwałki District; 7 — Netta, Augustów District; 8 — Sypitki, Elk District; 9 — Boćwinka; 10 — Grunajki, Gołdap District; 11 — Liepynai, rej. Kapsukas; 12 — Czerniachovsk (Althof-Wystruć); 13 — Bajory Wielkie; 14 — Sławosze, Kętrzyn District; 15 — Poniki; 16 — Dąbrowa, Bartoszyce District; 17 — Markajmy, Lidzbark District; 18 — Gr. Sausgarten, Frydłąd District; 19 — Melawiszki (Mehlawischken); 20 — Perdollen; 21 — Izo-bilnoe (Kl. Fließ); 22 — Löbertshoff; 23 — Zaostrovo (Caymen), Labiewa District; 24 — Friedrichsthal; 25 — Lunino (Sanditten); 26 — Koddien; 27 — Popelken, Wielawa District; 28 — Rolese (Ottenhagen); 29 — Marino (Arnau); 30 — Lauth; 31 — Poddubnoe (Neidtkeim-Fürstenwalde); 32 — Rosenau; 33 — Lobity (Lobitten), Królewiec District; 34 — Trentity (Trentitten); 35 — Eissebittie; 36 — Elchdorf; 37 — Chrystalnoe (Wiekau); 38 — Szudity (Schuditten); 39 — Widyty (Widitten); 40 — Kostrowo (Bludau); 41 — Kotelnikowo Warengen); 42 — Medvedevo (Kl. Norgau); 43 — Powarowka (Kirphnen); 44 — Grebity (Grebieten); 45 — Kojeny (Cojehnen); 46 — Gojtieny (Goithenen); 47 — Regeny (Regehnen); 48 — Szlakalki (Schlakalken); 49 — Svetlogorsk (Rauschen-Cobjeiten); 50 — Zareče (Rantau-Neukuhren); 51 — Romanovo (Pobethen), Fischhausen District; 52 — Tengi (Tengen); 53 — Warnikam; 54 — Sztuteny (Stulhnen); 55 — Kajmkaly (Keimkallen); Swieta Siekierka District (Heiligenbeil); 56 — Podgórze; 57 — Chojnowo, Braniewo District; 58 — Łęczę; 59-63 — Elbląg st. I and II; 61 — Benkenstein, Elbląg District; 62 — Pasięk; 63 — Tumiany, Olsztyn District; 64 — Mojtyny, Mrągowo District; 65 — Awajki, Pasięk District; 66 — Gr. Friedrichsberg, Królewiec District.



indicated that the horse belonged to the sylvan tarpan type (*Equus caballus Gmelini Ant.*), and was a nine year old male<sup>22</sup>. The dimensions of the other one showed its similar typological features.

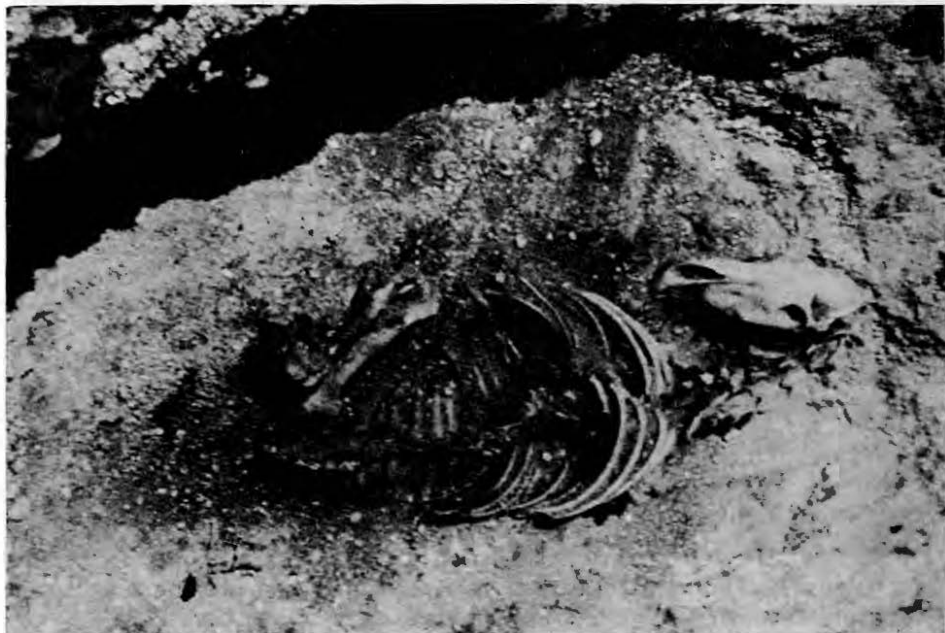


Fig. 2. Osowa, Suwałki District; A horse skeleton from barrow No. 41 (the 4th cent. of our era.)

The finding in barrow No. 76, was of a different type. In this barrow, dated to the 3rd century of our era, close to a plundered inhumation grave, a second grave-pit was discovered, which was situated similarly to those in the barrows formerly described, its dimensions being  $1.6 \times 1.4$  m. Three horse limbs were found in it, from hooves till the fetlock (*ossa metacarpalia*), and a part of the carpus (*ossa carpi*), all deposited parallelly to one the others, along the vertical axis of the grave pit, located along the north-southern line<sup>23</sup> (fig. 3).

The horse bones also appeared in three barrows in the cemetery at Sz wajcaria, dating back to the above-analyzed period, i.e. from the close

<sup>22</sup> K. Krysiak, Szczątki zwierzęce z okresu rzymskiego z kurhanów Suwalszczyzny wydobyte w 1956 r., „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXV (1958), pp. 141—143.

<sup>23</sup> J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejsc. Osowa pow. Suwałki w latach 1958—1959, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. I, Białystok 1961, p. 172.



Fig. 3. Osowa, the Suwałki district; Lower parts of horse limbs, found in barrow No. 73 (the 3rd cent. of our era.) A symbolical burial.



Fig. 4. Szwajcaria, Suwałki District. A horse skeleton from barrow No. 25 with a "ducal" burial (the 5th cent. of our era). According to J. Antoniewicz.

of the 2d till the end of the 5th century of our era. A male cremation grave, dating from the 5th century and containing no urn, was discovered in barrow No. 25 under one of the biggest mounds in that cemetery. Its grave-furniture was of "ducal" type: a long sword, a silver brooch, an enamelled plaque, two amber beads, a pair of scissors, a lump of melted bronze (fig. 5) and an animal jaw. This burial was situated excentrically, being distant 2 metres from the grave-pit  $2.5 \times 1$  m., located more westwards in the centre of the barrow. A horse skeleton was found in this grave-pit, under the pavement containing numerous pieces of pottery. It lay on the right side with contracted limbs, and oriented along the north-western and south-eastern axis (fig. 4). In the horse mouth stuck a bit and iron buckles of a belt were lying at the left side of its shoulder-blade and of its belly (fig. 5). The two grave-pits with both, human and horse burials, were situated parallelly to one the others<sup>24</sup>. A horse skeleton with similar bone-arrangement was found in barrow No. 56. The horse was lying on its right side, its feet being contracted. The location of the skeleton was different. The horse was oriented from the east (its head) westwards (its back). On the west, this grave-pit was almost adjacent to the rectangular grave-pit of a human burial with no urn. Owing to the lack of any grave-goods, this group can be roughly assigned to the 5th century of our era<sup>25</sup>.

In the third successive barrow, No. 32, the human inhumation burial and the horse burial, the latter placed in a grave-pit  $3$  m.  $\times$   $1.6$  m. and distant  $0.8$  m. from the first one, were both destructed by plunder diggings. On the basis of the remains of the grave-furniture, the grave-group is assigned to the period of the 3rd—4th century of our era. They are as follows: a bronze plaque coated with silver, three strap-ends with rings, pottery fragments and a piece of an iron knife<sup>26</sup>. Two cemeteries distant about  $1$  km from one the other have been under examination at Korkliny<sup>27</sup>. At site No. 2, which was, as the both above-mentioned ones, used in the period from the 3rd till the 5th century of our era, in barrow No. 2 horse bones have been found, deposited in a grave-pit, its dimens-

<sup>24</sup> J. Antoniewicz, *Badania kurhanów z okresu rzymskiego dokonane w 1957 r. w miejsc. Szwajcaria pow. Suwałki*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” vol. XXVII-I (1961), pp. 8—10.

<sup>25</sup> The barrow, discovered in 1965, not published, so far. I express my gratitude to Dr. J. Antoniewicz, the explorer of the cemetery at Szwajcaria, for making this article available to me.

<sup>26</sup> J. Antoniewicz, *Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w latach 1958—1960 na cmentarzysku w miejsc. Szwajcaria pow. Suwałki*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” vol. XXIX-2 (1963), p. 168.

<sup>27</sup> The explorations accomplished by the author of the article in 1964 and 1965 are being actually worked out.

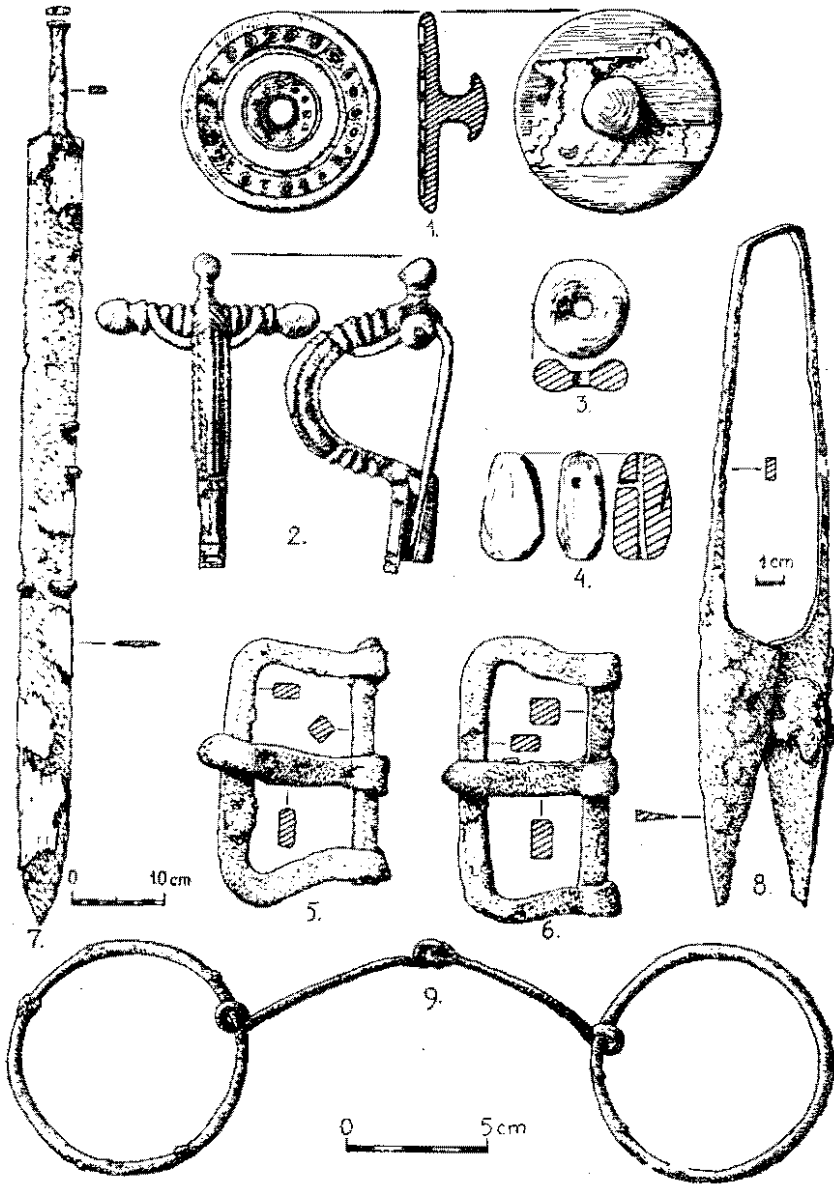


Fig. 5. Sz wajcaria, Suwałki District. The furniture of burials from barrow No. 25. According to J. Antoniewicz.

ions being 2.2×1.2 m., and located parallelly to the human burial, distant 1.2 m. more westwards than the first one. Both grave-pits were located along the north-west and south-east lines. In the centre of the barrow there was a grave-pit with no urn, containing the cremation



Fig. 6. Korkliny, Suwałki District, site 2. A horse skeleton from barrow No. 2 (the 5th cent. of our era).

remains, an iron brooch, an iron buckle, two amber beads, an awl, a miniature pottery, and both silver and bronze lumps.

The horse skeleton suggests that the horse was lying, somewhat on its right side, its back limbs being symmetrically bent and contracted, the right front one contracted under its trunk and the left front limb

a little straightened aside. Its neck was arched, and its head drooped vertically downwards and slightly bent aside laid upon the edge of the grave-pit (fig. 6). The horse was directed with its front part towards the south-east. Among the grave-goods there was a bit stuck in the horse mouth, a silver ring as well as other parts of the harness found on the horse skin at the left jawbone, then a bigger buckle at its left side and a smaller one at the right one. Two small buckles were also found below the thigh bones (*ossa femoris*) of the animal and above the tibia (*ossa tibia*). The preliminary inspection indicates that the animal possessed the same typological features than the former ones, particularly those at Osowa. The grave should be dated to the 5th century of our era.

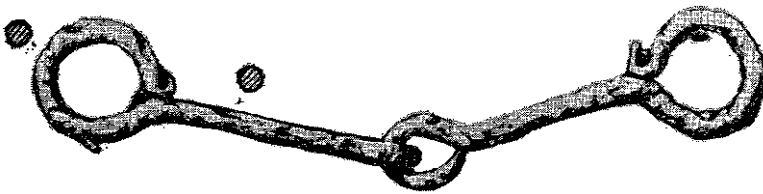


Fig. 7. Korkliny, Suwałki District, site 1. An iron bit found in the horse burial in barrow No. 1 (the 6th cent. of our era).

The second barrow cemetery, No. 1 at Korkliny, of later date was used in the 6th and the 7th century of our era. Three family-barrows, characteristic of the period have been preserved in this site, and in two of them burials with horses occurred, Remnants of cremation graves and a horse skeleton were revealed in the destroyed barrow No. 1. The horse skeleton was found in a pit situated along the north-south axis; its front part was oriented southwards. The horse was lying on its abdomen with its legs symmetrically bent under its trunk and with its neck straightened forward. In its mouth stuck a double iron bit (fig. 7) with a piece of bent wire, which probably was a junction between the bit and the bridle (or reins). The observations made during the excavation works indicate that the horse was buried in the place located in the central part of the barrow. No traces of the grave-pit with human remains that might be destructed by the ploughing of the field were found close to his burial.

The second burial with a horse appeared in barrow No. 3, which possessed two grave-pits in its centre, one with a horse skeleton, situated along the west-northern and east-southern axis, and the other, parallel to the first grave-pit, and located 0.4 m. farther eastwards. Within the area of the latter, two rectangular, stone-settings, being not adjacent to one the other were revealed, their dimensions were:  $0.9 \times 1.4$  and  $1.3 \times 0.7$  m. They contained three cremation burials with no urns. Two

of them (Nos. 5 and 6), at the opposite ends of the stone-setting, were located at the side of the horse burial, and were furnished with a bronze brooch with a long foot (burial No. 5), and an iron buckle (burial No. 6), on which basis this grave-group is dated to the middle of the 6th century



Fig. 8. Korkliny, Suwałki District, site 1. A horse skeleton from barrow No. 3 (The 6th cent. of our era).

of our era. Within the outer stone-setting (grave no 2), dating back cent., to the first cent., only some hand made pottery fractions were found. The horse skeleton was lying in the grave-pit of the dimensions  $2.1 \times 0.9$  m., in a position analogous to that which has been stated at barrow-site No. 2, at Korkliny, i.e. lying on its belly with the left front leg slightly aside (fig. 8). The horse was directed with its front part towards south-eastwards. No grave-goods were found there. The observation of the mould indicates that three human burials in two separate graves and a horse burial constitute one grave-group, buried at the same

time. The above described findings were made at the sites distant from one the other from 1 to 10 km. in a straight line. One more cemetery at Prudziszki, site No. 2 belongs to this group of cemeteries. Already earlier, a barrow with a human pit-grave, containing no urn, was examined there. It was furnished with a silver brooch, at its west side having a grave-pit with a horse skeleton<sup>28</sup>. The animal was probably buried in a lying position, and had an iron bit and an iron buckle at its head, a bronze rivet and fragments of both iron and bronze.

In this barrow there were, too, some burials with urns. On the base of the brooch this finding can be assigned to the second half of the 6th century of our era, or to the 7th century. In the other group of cemeteries, situated more at the south, horse remains have been discovered recently in the cemetery at Netta, dating from the period between the 3rd and the 7th century in graves Nos. 30 and 47. The plain grave No. 30 possessed a big grave-pit, its dimensions being 1.6×1 m. (one of the biggest in this cemetery), with a stone-setting, within which there were placed the remains of the funeral pyre, burnt bones, as well as an axe, a spur and a considerable number of ironwork. To this grave-pit, from its northern side, another one was contiguous, circular in shape, with a diameter 0.65 m., where a horse head and fragments of its fore legs were deposited. This group can be assigned to the middle of the first millennium of our era. Close to it was the grave-pit of grave No. 31, also containing no urn, and furnished with two brooches, two bracelets, a bronze necklace a necklace of glass beads, an iron buckle, a belt-ironwork, a plaque and an awl. M. Kaczyński, who has been examining this cemetery, believes those three grave-pits to belong to one grave-group, where the remains of a man with a horse and those of a woman were buried<sup>29</sup>. The inhumation horse burial in grave-pit No. 47 contained a complete skeleton of a lying horse, buried with no grave-goods in the grave-pit 0.85 × 2 m. No human burial was found close to it, but it is possible that the latter was situated in the other barrow, distant 2.5 m. farther, remnants of which have been preserved together with several burials, dating from the 6th century of our era<sup>30</sup>.

In the same region, at Raczki, a grave with a horse, was earlier discovered in the cemetery dating from the period 3rd—4th century of

<sup>28</sup> M. Kaczyński, Dwa cmentarzyska kurhanowe z V—VI w. n.e. we wsi Prudziszki pow. Suwałki, „Materiały Starożytne” vol. III, Warszawa 1958, p. 130.

<sup>29</sup> The materials on the exploration carried on in 1962, and then worked out by M. Kaczyński, who was as kind as to make the documentation on these findings accessible.

<sup>30</sup> The remains of barrows preserved at Netta are those of a non-typical form of the graves, because they are flat with no moulds and with burials of the analogous form as those in non-numerous barrows.



our era. A cremation burial of a "rider" with a bronze spur and lumps of bronze was discovered in the upper part of the grave-pit in the flat grave No. 9, and below it, a poorly preserved skeleton of a horse was discovered in a bone arrangement which has not been more precisely worked out by the author of this article<sup>31</sup>.

From this review the following conclusions could be drawn out: The bone-remains of the horses:

1. appeared throughout the whole period under examination — The Roman and the Great Migration periods.
2. Their treatment has not been connected with differences in time.
3. They appeared together with human burials of various forms, both inhumations and cremations.
4. They have been noted in the graves with various forms of grave-furniture: beginning with those with a rich grave-furniture (including weapons), till those with a poor grave-furniture without weapons.

III. With regard to the first of these problems, its importance is considerable both for further analysis and the final conclusions. It is connected with the appearance of this phenomenon in the burial rite and with the extend of its popularity in a given historical period. Our findings, as far as the factor of time is concerned, are divided proportionally: 5 groups (Osowa, Nos. 41 and 76, Sz wajcaria, No. 3, Netta, No. 31 and Raczki) date from the period of the 3rd—5th century of our era, 4 groups (Osowa No. 11, Sz wajcaria, Nos. 25 and 56, Korkliny, site No. 11, No. 2) date from the 5th century of our era; 3 grave-groups (Prudziszki and Korkliny, site No. 1, Nos. 1 and 3) date from the period of the 6th—7th century of our era; finally the unique grave-group at Netta is generally assigned to the middle of the first millennium of our era.

Thus a slight quantitative preponderance of earlier findings over the later ones could be noticed. Let us have a look, however, at the more general tendencies in this respect, which are visible on the wider area inhabited by west-Baltic tribes. The first burials with horses, assigned to the Baltic peoples, and more strictly speaking, those with horse remains, appeared at the beginning of the first millennium of our era in Sambia<sup>32</sup>. To a somewhat earlier period are assigned those in the territory of west Lithuania, where in the cemetery at Kurmaičiai,

<sup>31</sup> W. La Baume u. W. Gronau, *Das Gräberfeld...*, o.c.

<sup>32</sup> H. Jankuhn, *Zur Besiedlung des Samlandes in der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit*, „Prussia“ vol. XXX (1933), p. 104; W. La Baume, *Altpreuussische Zaumzeug*, „Altpreuussen“ 1944, vol. 1/4, p. 1. He considers the graves with horses discovered in the territory of the ancient east-Prussia as a characteristic feature of the culture of the ancient-Prussian population. C. Engel mentioned the sporadical finds of the horse-remains in the „necropolis“, dating from the Bronze-Age; „Vorgeschichte der altpreuussischen Stämme“, p. 68.

near Kretynga, they were discovered, for the first time, in grave-groups dating from the last centuries before our era<sup>33</sup>. As far as the Sambian cemeteries are concerned, the earliest data were provided by the early-Roman plain, low, stone-barrows, Nos. 1 and 4, at Regeny<sup>34</sup> and a similar to them barrow No. 1 at Szlakalki<sup>35</sup>. From the same period are dating: the Łunino archaeological site in Sambia, where in the grave dating from the 2nd century of our era, besides two inhumation burials, two horse skeletons were also found<sup>36</sup>, and the Sławosze site, a cemetery from the depth of the interior, in the Kętrzyn district<sup>37</sup>. The number of grave-groups, dated to the period from the 3rd to the 5th century of our era, inclusively, is fairly larger. Generally speaking about 50—60 grave-groups, out of those published and deriving from about 30 cemeteries, should be dated to the first 500 years of the first millennium of our era<sup>38</sup>. Thus, the eastern region of Sudovia, recently under examination, in which seven grave-groups, dated to the period from 3rd to 5th century of our era were discovered, occupies an exposed position, particularly with regard to the territories of the Great Mazurian Lakes, fairly well explored<sup>39</sup>.

The next centuries from the 6th to the 8th century of our era, are characterized by a somewhat different situation. The general number of the grave-groups of that period is close to the number of those of earlier date but the number of cemeteries, where the discoveries of interest to us have been made, is considerably smaller (20 sites). Changes with regard to the horizontal location of grave-groups are also visible. Though the primate still belongs to Sambia and Natangia, with their

<sup>33</sup> R. Kulikauskienė, *Pogrebenia z koniami...*, o.c., p. 212.

<sup>34</sup> G. Bujack, *Das Gräberfeld zu Regehnen, Kr. Fischhausen, „Prussia-Ber.“* vol. XIV (1887/8) 1889, pp. 123—124.

<sup>35</sup> H. Jankuhn, *Ein Gräberfeld der ersten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus Schlakalken Kr. Fischhausen, „Prussia“* vol. XXXII-2, 1930, p. 246 ff.

<sup>36</sup> C. Engel, *Das Gräberfeld v. Sanditten, Kreis Wehiau, „Prussia“* vol. XXIX (1931), p. 49 and *„Nachrichtenblatt f. deutsche Vorzeit“* vol. VII-1, 1931, p. 8.

<sup>37</sup> *„Prussia-Ber.“* vol. III (1877), p. 8, *„Altpreussische Monatsschrift“* vol. IX (1872), p. 485; vol. XIV (1877), p. 667; W. La Baume, *Altpreussisches Zaumzeug, „Altpreussen“*, 1944, vol. 1/2, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Marino (Arnau), *Zaostrowie (Caymen) Chrustolnoe (Wiekau), Cojehnen, Gr. Friedrichsberg, Izobilnoje (Kl. Fliess), Kotelnikowo (Warengi), Lauth, Lobitten, Łunino, Mehlawischken, Medvedevo (Kl. Norgau), Polesie (Ottenhagen), Poddubnoe (Neidheim-F.), Powarowka (Kirpeny) Perdellen, Regeny, Szudity, Sztuteny, Svetlogorsk, Szlakalki, Eisselbitten, Goiteny, Grebity, Kostrowo, Romanowo Elchdorf, Gr Sausgarten, Zareče (Rantau-Neukuhren) and Dąbrowa, Bartoszyce District, Sławosze, Kętrzyn District.*

<sup>39</sup> *„Altpreussen“* vol. IV, p. 27; E. Hollack, F. Peiser, *Das Gräberfeld v. Moythenen, Königsberg 1904*, p. 57, graves Nos. 93—95.

thirteen sites<sup>40</sup>, nevertheless burials with horses appear in the territory between the rivers Pasłęka and Nogat (7 sites)<sup>41</sup>. But in the territory of the Great Mazurian Lakes they further appear on a limited scale<sup>42</sup>. Such situation proves that the local religious traditions were still observed in the field of the burial rite, as the territory of the Great Mazurian Lakes has not offered any major amount of findings from the earlier period. The appearance of burials with horses on the western boundaries of the Baltic settlement dating from the second half of the first millennium of our era, resulted from the colonisation of the area between the rivers Pasłęka and Nogat mainly by Sambian — Natan-gian elements, shifting in that direction along the Vistula mouth basin<sup>43</sup>. It was probably one of the reasons that caused the diminution of the population in Sambia, which was reflected visibly by a smaller number of cemeteries. In the second half of the first millennium of our era, the horse burials, known from a smaller number of cemeteries, began to appear more often than formerly, when they had constituted a sporadic phenomenon in the archaeological material of one grave of the other. In the necropolies dating from the 6th—8th century of our era, several grave-groups of this type or singular horse burials were discovered, as for instance at Pasłek (three)<sup>44</sup>, Podgórze (four)<sup>45</sup>, Tengi (six)<sup>46</sup>, or, finally, at Bajory Wielkie (nine to thirty two examined)<sup>47</sup>. But in the cemetery at Łęcze, in the Elbląg district, 8 burials with horses were discovered, and in six cases only horse bones were found<sup>48</sup>. The similar situation, proving the coming of the rite of burying the dead with their

<sup>40</sup> Kostrowo (Bludau), Widitten, Popelken, Koddien, Friedrichsthal, Trentity, Bajory Wielkie, Kętrzyn District, Poniki and Dąbrowa, Bartoszyce District, Markajmy, Lidzbark District and Keimskąły, Warnikam and Tengi.

<sup>41</sup> Łęcze, Elbląg District, Elbląg st. I i II, Benkenstein Elbląg District, Podgórze i Chojnowo, Braniewo District, Pasłek, Awajki, Pasłek District.

<sup>42</sup> Tumiany, Olsztyn District.

<sup>43</sup> K. Jażdżewski, Bałtyjskie elementy w kulturze słowiańskiej, „Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich” vol. I-1, Warszawa 1961, p. 81.

<sup>44</sup> B. Ehrlich, Das Gräberfeld bei Pr. Holland, „Elbinger Jahrbuch”, vol. 3, Elbląg 1923, p. 197.

<sup>45</sup> F. Peiser, Gräberfeld bei Huntenberg, „Prussia-Ber.” vol. XXIII-2, 1919, pp. 338, 339, 342, 351.

<sup>46</sup> G. Berendt, Zwei Gräberfelder in Natangen I. Das Gräberfeld von Tengen, „Schriften d. physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg”, vol. XIV (1837), pp. 91—92; R. Klebs, Bericht über die neuer Ausgrabungen in Tengen bei Brandenburg (Natangen) ausgeführt im Sommer 1875, and vol. XVII (1876), pp. 55—56, 59—60.

<sup>47</sup> „Altpreussen”, vol. III-1, pp. 25—26.

<sup>48</sup> R. Dorr, Die Gräberfelder auf dem Silberberg bei Lenzen und bei Serpin, Krs. Elbing, „Festschrift der Elbinger Alterthumsgesellschaft zur Feier ihres fünf und zwanzigjährigen Bestehen”, Elbing 1898, pp. 10—15.

horses into general use, can be ascertained with regard to Sudovian territories. Though among more recent findings we note only three grave-groups with horses (Korkliny, site No. 1, Liepynai), and also four others, — probably dating from the second half of the first millennium of our era, — at Boćwinka, Grunajki and Sypitki, as well as a certain grave-group from Prudziszki, dating from the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century of our era. That means more than on the other west-Baltic territories together with those lying beyond the Sambian peninsula and the sea-side belt towards the Pasłęka, then further towards the Nogat river. This allows us to draw a conclusion that the custom of burying the dead together with their horses seems to be typical of the population using the Sambian and Natangian cemeteries as well as those in Sudovia, particularly in their eastern part. Their sporadic appearance in other territories (The Great Mazurian Lakes region and areas close to the upper Pregoła river), was connected with the influence of the ideology, characteristic of the population living both in Sambia and its neighbouring territory, or was the result of migration displacements from this territory farther westwards, beyond the Pasłęka river line. It seems that the Lithuanian materials have not shown either an increased “universality” of burials with horses in this territory, particularly in the first half of the first millennium of our era. It is a characteristic fact that the region of eastern Lithuania, neighbouring with that of Sudovia is represented with a relatively small number of the above mentioned burials from the period not before the second part and the end of the first millennium of our era <sup>49</sup>.

IV. The burials with horses in the Sudovian territories are rather uniform as far as the treatment of the animal and its localisation in the grave are concerned. Specially the archaeological materials from barrows in the upper as well as the middle part of the between-river basin of the Rospuda and the Czarna Hańcza represent one variant in this respect: the horse skeleton was buried in a lying position in a separate grave-pit, most often located westwards from the human burial and in the case of inhumation, on the right hand of the buried dead man. Some peculiarities are visible with regard to the position in which horses were buried. In the cemetery at Sz wajcaria, they were lying on their right side, with contracted limbs (fig. 4) while those at Osowa and Korkliny were lying on their bellies (fig. 2, 6 and 7). In both cases the positions of the horses were natural, what may indicate that horses were put still alive into the graves. Dusburg and other chroniclers wrote that before the burial ceremony the Prussians used to drive on their horses that were destined

<sup>49</sup> R. Kulikauskienė, *Pogrebenia z koniami...*, o.c., p. 213; A. Tautavičius, *Vostočnolitovskie kurgany...*, o.c., p. 37.

to be put into the grave, and that they were driven on so long till they hardly could stand on their feet<sup>50</sup>. It seems that the new grave-materials confirm this information. The horses were also fettered. The natural position of the horses in the grave-pits, in a restful pose on a pasture, could also suggest their natural death, for instance the death from hunger of those animals in the grave-pits. In this respect not much more comparative data from other territories exist, some of them, however, give interesting indications. For instance those from Zareče (Rantau) in Sambia, where a "kneeling" horse was found, lying on its belly with its head straightened upward<sup>51</sup>, which is an obvious proof that the horse was fettered and buried alive. But in the graves dating from the 7th—8th century of our era, in the cemetery at Poniki, in the Kętrzyn district, horses were put into the grave with heads obliquely downwards<sup>52</sup>. A similar position of the skeleton with its skull upwards was ascertained in the cemeteries dating from the middle of the first millennium of our era, namely in those at Chojnówo, Łęcze near Elbląg (Benkenstein)<sup>53</sup>. The materials being of interest to us derive from the cemetery near Löbertshoff, in Sambia; 27 burials with horse skeletons assigned to different epochs from the Roman Period till the Middle Ages were found there<sup>54</sup>. Most of the horses (21) were lying on their bellies, with the head put close to the side, then similarly as those at Osowa.

Five horses were lying on their side, and one on its back with legs stretched upwards, which might be a proof that the animal had been killed before being put to the grave-pit. Skeletons of horses buried in a standing position were excavated in the early-mediaeval cemetery at Popelken<sup>55</sup>. It has been ascertained in Lithuania, at Veršvai, that horses excavated from the early-mediaeval graves had traces of sacks with fodder at their mouths. A suggestion has been also put forward that some of the horses had their eyes bound<sup>56</sup>, which could play a role in putting

<sup>50</sup> A. Mierzyński, *Źródła do mytologii...*, o.c., part II, p. 61.

<sup>51</sup> W. Hensche, *Einiges zur Kenntnis der Todtenbestattung...*, o.c., pp. 136--137

<sup>52</sup> C. Engel, *Ein altpreussisches Gräberfeld entdeckt*, „Unsere Heimat”, vol. XVI-S, Allenstein 1934, p. 91; *Neue Ausgrabungen in Gr. Poninken*; „Unsere Heimat” vol. XVI-15, p. 176.

<sup>53</sup> W. Neugebauer, *Das altpreussische Gräberfeld von Conradswalde Krs. Elbing*, „Altschlesien” vol. V (1934), pp. 322--324.

<sup>54</sup> „Prussia-Ber.”, vol. II (1876 — October), „Altpreussische Monatsschrift”, vol. XIV (1877), pp. 176—181.

<sup>55</sup> Lorek, *Über das Gräberfeld bei Popelken*, „Prussia-Ber.”, vol. V (1878—1879), pp. 35—36; G. Bujack, *Gräberfeld Popelken bei Eichen, Krs. Wehlau*, „Prussia” vol. XV (1888—89) 1890, p. 177. He also mentioned the horse-skeleton, located in a lying position as, for instance, No. 37, generally assigned to the 7th—8th centuries of our era.

<sup>56</sup> R. Kulikauskienė, *Pogrebenia z koniamii...*, o.c., p. 216.

them alive into the grave-pits. The suggested by us natural death of animals before burying them and building up of the barrow would require a funeral ceremony being celebrated for, at least, a few days. Chronicles by Wulfstan, dating from the 9th century, as well as those by later authors, suggest the existence of such a possibility, as they say that funeral ceremonies among the Prussians lasted longer than one or few days, being extended even to a half-a-year period, abundant with feasts and games, together with sharing of inheritance, mourning for the dead, whose mortal remains were kept, without being burnt, for a longer period of time<sup>57</sup>. Putting them into the grave together with grave-goods, to which also belonged the horse put into the grave-pit, constituted the last act of funeral ceremonies. The occurrence of a horse skeleton in a separate pit, close to that containing human remains, represents the most common burial-form of the first millennium of our era on the west-Baltic territories, beginning with the earliest finds till later ones up to the period between the 7th and the 8th century, inclusively. It seems, however, that the number of finds of this form was diminishing, particularly in Sambia, giving preponderance to the other one: the human burial was placed in the same grave-pit, in its upper part, over the horse skeleton, which was ascertained at Raczki, as well as in a number of west-Baltic sites. This form of burial occurs in grave-groups dating from the Roman Period; for instance it was ascertained at Łunino by Znamensk (Weława) and Gr. Friedrichsber near Królewic — the 2nd century of our era<sup>58</sup>, and at Poddubnoje (Neidtkeim — F), the 3rd—4th century of our era<sup>59</sup>. The majority of graves of this type, however, are dating from the close of the first millennium of our era, the ancient-Prussian cemeteries in the vicinity of Elbląg<sup>60</sup>, Ten-

<sup>57</sup> A. Mierzyński, *Źródła do mytologii...*, o.c., part I, pp. 35—37.

<sup>58</sup> C. Engel, *Das Gräberfeld von Sanditten, Kreis Wehlau, „Prussia“*, vol. XXIX (1931), p. 49 and *„Nachrichtenblatt f. deutsche Vorzeit“*, vol. VII-1, 1931, p. 8, and id., *Aus Gotenzeit Altpreussens, „Unsere Heimat“*, vol. XII-15, 1930, p. 124.

<sup>59</sup> O. Tischler, *Bericht über prähist.-anthrop. Arbeiten...*, *„Schriften d. physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg“* vol. XVIII (1877), 1878, p. 274 and *„Bericht-Schriften...“*, p. 41; R. Kemke, *Fundverzeichnis... „Schriften...“* vol. XLII (1901), p. 93. The news about other finds of the horse remains in graves dating back to the first half of the first millennium of our era (?), as well as about the later ones was given by V. Wittich, *Beschreibung einiger Schädel...*, *„Schriften...“* vol. X (1869), p. 133 and A. Hensche, *Gräberfund bei Fürstenwalde*, p. 148.

<sup>60</sup> Łęcze — R. Dorr, *Die Gräberfelder...*, o.c., pp. 10—15. The horse remains occurred under the human cremation burials in graves No. 20, 21, 25, 32, 38, 40, 56. The horse remains have been found in grave No. 22, close to a cremation burial, Elbląg, p. 1 (*„Pole Nowe Miasto“*), W. Neugebauer, *Die Bestattung des wikingischen Gräberfeldes in Elbing für die Wikingerbewegung im Ostseegebiet,*

gi<sup>61</sup>, and the others<sup>62</sup>, particularly from the beginning of the second millennium of our era. Findings of horse cremation burials are only sporadic, for instance at Mojtyny<sup>63</sup>, Tenggi<sup>64</sup>, Medvedevo<sup>65</sup>. In the cemetery at Medvedevo, in a high urn, horse teeth and a bit were found among burnt bones which may have been those of a horse. In spite of clear notes from the Middle Ages, referring to horse burning in those times, we have no confirmation with regard to this fact in the archaeological material, even in that dating from the beginning of the 2nd millennium of our era.

For instance at Lithuanian sites from that period, the number of burials with cremated horse remains is quantitatively equal to that of inhumation burials<sup>66</sup>. It appears that inhumation burials have a dominating position in the ancient Prussian territories, too<sup>67</sup>. Horse burials with no human ones occur in the Sudovian territories, which have been excavated recently. No human burial was found in one of the barrows at Korkliny, this fact resulted, however, from the destruction of the mound together with the grave-pit. A horse burial was excavated in a separate form in a barrow at Boćwinka, in the Gołdap district, as well as at Sypitki, in the Elk district (there is lack of any precise information in both cases), and at Netta. Other cemeteries dating from the later Roman period provided a number of such examples. As the recently-mentioned finds usually have derived from the destroyed places, one can assume that human burials, accompanied with horses buried more deeply, were devastated (for instance at Podgórze). Some of them,

„Elbinger Jahrbuch”, vol. XIV-1, Elbląg 1937, p. 20 and Das wikingische Gräberfeld in Elbing, „Altpreussen” vol. III, 1938, p. 2, Elbląg p. 1, B. Ehrlich, Die Ausgrabungen des Stadtischen Museums Elbing v. 1936 bis 1939, „Nachrichtenblatt f. deutsche Vorzeit” vol. XVII, 1941, p. 96, Elbląg-Benkenstein, R. Dorr, Das vorgeschichtliche Gräberfeld von Benkenstein-Freiwalde, Krs. Elbing (700—1150 n. Chr.), „Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft u. Kunst zu Thorn”, vol. 22, Thorn 1914, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> Grave No. 29, 30, 37, 38 i 14, G. Berendt, Zwei Gräberfelder..., o.c., p. 91; R. Klebs, Bericht über die neue Ausgrabungen..., o.c., pp. 55—60.

<sup>62</sup> Podgórze Braniewo District, grave No. 10 and 11/48, F. Peiser, Gräberfeld bei Hundenberg, „Prussia-Ber.”, vol. XXIII-2 (1919), pp. 338—339, Pasiek — B. Ehrlich, Das Gräberfeld bei Pr.-Holland, o.c., p. 197. See C. Engel, Vorgeschichte der altpreussischen Stämme, o.c., p. 69.

<sup>63</sup> E. Hollack, F. Peiser, Das Gräberfeld v. Moythenen, o.c., p. 57.

<sup>64</sup> Grave No. 30 — R. Klebs, Bericht..., o.c., p. 55.

<sup>65</sup> „Altpreussische Monatschrift”, vol. XI, Königsberg 1874, p. 680.

<sup>66</sup> A. Tautavičius, Rytu Lietuvos pilkapiai..., o.c., the annotation No. 34 and 35.

<sup>67</sup> It is not excluded that the smaller number of the cremation bone-remains of horses, deriving from the ancient-Prussian territories resulted from the ignorance of their elimination, particularly by the 19 century-explorers.

however, as cremations at Mojtyny or a double inhumation burial at Koddien<sup>68</sup>, or, finally, the one that has been recently discovered at Netta — indicate that the custom showing no direct connection between animal and human burials was also in practice.

The latter form of burial became very popular in the early Middle Ages when, for instance in Lithuania, horse graves were grouped in one end of the cemetery, and human ones in the opposite end. In connection with this fact a suggestion has been made, that to a given human grave corresponded one or more horses, buried apart (for instance at Veršvai, Kapitoniškes<sup>69</sup>). It seems not excluded another explanation of this phenomenon, which is generally met outside the time-framing of the first millennium of our era, but which had been sygnalized in earlier material to the extend worth a bit of attention. In the sources written by mediaeval authors, the Prussians and the Lithuanians were characterized as superstitious people, who before undertaking more important decisions — mainly those of a military character — consulted fortune-tellers<sup>70</sup>. After a successful expedition, one third of plunder, horses, weapons and captives were sacrificed as offerings. It is not excluded that the offering cemerories took place just in the cemeteries, and those separate horse burials might be their remainder.

It is characteristic that in the late-Roman cemetery at Mojtyny, in the Mrągowo district, those burials occur definitely in its peryperies, what in a way emphasize their peculiarity with regard to the rest of excavated graves. Our remarks are of a working character and they require a checking in the further course of examinations. It seems, however, that while interpreting separate horse burials one should not exclude their sacrificial and even votive character, and ought to treat them not only and exclusively as a phenomenon resulting from the burial rite. Finally, there remains the problem of partial horse burials in graves. They appeared in barrow No. 76 at Osowa in the form of lower parts of three limbs, deposited in the grave-pit, which was situated to the human

<sup>68</sup> W. La Baume, *Altpreuussische Zaumzeug...*, o.c., p. 15.

<sup>69</sup> R. Kulikauskienė, *Pogrebenia z koniam...*, o.c., p. 215; A. Tautavičius, *Kurgany...*, o.c., p. 137.

<sup>70</sup> A. Mierzyński, *Źródła do mytologii...*, o.c., part. II, p. 61 ff.

<sup>71</sup> G. Bujack, *Das Gräberfeld zu Grebieten (nordl. Hälfte)*, „Prussia-Ber.“, vol. XIII (1886—87), 1888, pp. 174—181 and J. Heydeck, *Der südliche Theil des Gräberfeldes v. Grebieten*, Krs. Fischhausen, pp. 181—183, 229, 230—250.

<sup>72</sup> G. Bujack, *Das Gräberfeld zu Regehnen...*, o.c., p. 121.

<sup>73</sup> J. Heydeck, *Das Gräberfeld bei Cojehnen*, Krs. Fischhausen, „Prussia-Ber.“, vol. XIII (188), pp. 183—185; G. Bujack, *Gräberfeld Cojehnen*, „Prussia-Ber.“, vol. XXII (1909), p. 223.



burial similarly as those containing whole horse skeletons. Another find was also discovered in a small grave-pit in the grave-group No. 31 at Netta, and consisted of a part of a horse namely of its head and legs. With regard to the first of the two finds, the author had the occasion to express his point of view, that the deposition of horse limbs was of a symbolic character, marking the presence of the horse among the grave-furniture of the deceased buried in the barrow. Of similar character might also be the grave-groups in Sambia territory where, for instance, in the cemeteries at Grebity<sup>71</sup>, Regeny<sup>72</sup>, Kojeny<sup>73</sup>, Szlakalki<sup>74</sup>, and the others, only horse-teeth, sometimes with a bit, or horse heads were found.

On the base of laconic statements in the older publications it would be difficult to state today whether the preservation of, for instance, teeth, resulted from the destruction of the rest of a given skeleton, because of detrimental process of natural soil conditions, unfavourable for the preservation of osseous material, which was so characteristic of some regions in Sambia, as well as of those in western Lithuania. Destructions of a mechanical character should also be taken into consideration.

However, in some cemeteries (for instance at Grebity), besides a cremation grave, containing a whole horse skeleton, dating from the 3rd—5th century of our era, other cremation graves were also found, containing, besides pottery, only horse teeth<sup>75</sup>. This phenomenon has been also observed in the cemetery at Łęcze in the Elbląg district, dating from the 6th—7th century of our era. Either whole horse skeletons, or their fragments in a form of skulls and legs, or skulls only appeared there<sup>76</sup>. (An incomplete horse skeleton was also found at Romanowo, which emphasized the difference of this find from finds of whole skeletons, known so far). For instance at Lauth, Wiskiauty, or Zareče (Rantau)<sup>77</sup>.

In the cemetery at Tengī, dating from the second half of the first millennium of our era, were discovered: a cremation grave including a horse skeleton (No. 29), and another cremation grave (No. 30), where

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<sup>74</sup> H. Jankuhn, Ein Gräberfeld der ersten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus Schalken. Kr. Fischhausen, „Prussia“, vol. XXXII, part 2, 1939, pp. 246, 250, 257.

<sup>75</sup> Grave No. K with the urn and the whole horse-skeleton close to it grave No. 93 (cremation one), containing a horse-skeleton, graves 0, t and 147 both contained the cremation burials as well as horse-teeth, J. Heydeck, G. Bujack..., o.c., pp. 267, 229—250.

<sup>76</sup> R. Dorr, Die Gräberfelder auf dem Silberberge bei Lenzen u. bei Serpin..., o.c., pp. 10—15.

<sup>77</sup> The old name Pobethen, „Altpreussische Monatsschrift“ vol. XIII, (1875), pp. 495, 499.

burnt horse bones were also found, as well as a grave in which only teeth represented the horse remains (Nos. 17 and 78)<sup>78</sup>. The above mentioned examples prove that the symbolic grave-furniture: parts of a horse, mainly with its head and legs, or teeth, occurred rather often. The rest of the horse: its meat and skin were used probably both for consumption or utility purposes. Thus, the two new findings at Osowa and at Netta, within the context of wider west-Baltic materials do not belong to separate ones.

It is of interest that similar discoveries of grave-pits, in which the head and legs or only legs were deposited, were also made at other excavation-sites, both in central and northern Europe. In a cemetery dating from the 6th century, and explored in Turingia, more than a dozen of graves were discovered, being located around an empty space, in which three grave-pits with horse limbs and heads appeared<sup>79</sup>.

A similar fact occurred at Leuna, in east Germany, too, where a skull and legs were deposited in a late-Roman grave<sup>80</sup>. The rest of the findings are connected with grave-material dating from the second half and the end of the first millennium of our era, on the Hungarian and Rumanian territories<sup>81</sup>. Among the finds deriving from outside cemeteries, groups of bones of similar kind, bearing a sacrificial character of „marshy deposits”, were discovered in the Rislev marsh<sup>82</sup>, and a similar one, only less legible, in the Oland island<sup>83</sup>. Of utmost interest is the site of this type, discovered at the place of a dried up lake near Oberdorla, in north-western Turingia. A wooden idol with horse a lioness lying near to it, and including among the others a horse skull, fragments of limbs as well as bone remains of a woman was revealed in that site<sup>84</sup>. A grave-pit containing a skull and lower parts of horse limbs (from the carpus) ossa carpi (till hooves) was discovered in Bornholm, in the territory of a settlement at Sorte Muld.

O. Klindt-Jensen, analysing the material from this grave-pit, pointed out a far reaching connections of this find with funeral practices in the south Altaj as well as with those of nomadic tribes of Euro-Asian

<sup>78</sup> R. Klebs, Bericht..., o.c., pp. 55—60.

<sup>79</sup> B. Schmidt, Opferplatz und Gräberfeld des 6 Jahrhunderts bei Oberwerschken, Krs. Hohenmölsen, „Ausgrabungen u. Funde”, vol. X—1 (1965), p. .

<sup>80</sup> W. Schultz, Leuna 1953, p. 30, illustr. 16.

<sup>81</sup> O. Klindt-Jensen, Bornholm i Folkevandringstiden, København 1957, p. 247 as well as the quoted literature.

<sup>82</sup> O. Klindt-Jensen, Bornholm..., o.c., p. 247.

<sup>83</sup> U. E. Hagberg, Blotare i Skedemosse, „Tor”, vol. IX, Stockholm, pp. 158—161 and Järnålders offerfynd ur svenskt perspektiv, „Tor”, 1964, vol. X, p. 234 ff.

<sup>84</sup> G. Behm-Blancke, Ein westgermanisches Moor- und Seeheiligtum in Nordwestthüringen, „Ausgrabungen u. Funde”, vol. III, vol. 4/5 (1958), pp. 264—265.

steppes<sup>85</sup>. In this context the discovery of a horse skull in one of the storage-pits is of importance. It was found in that grave-pit a settlement, dating from the middle of the first millennium of our era, at Osinki in the district of Suwałki<sup>86</sup>, i.e. on the territory, where from come the grave-finds being the subject of this article. Not penetrating, for the present, more closely into this problem, we wish to draw the attention of the reader to the similarity of German, Scandinavian and Baltic materials, and their connections with the practices of nomads of the south-eastern part of our continent.

With regard to the deposits of the horse skeletons which have been recently discovered in the Suwałki—Augustów Great Lakes Region, the attention should be drawn to their orientation, analogous to the grave-pits with human remains, situated along the north-southern line at Osowa, in barrow No. 41; the horse was situated with its fore part northwards, similarly to the man, buried in the neighbouring grave-pit. The horse accompanying cremation burials were more often situated with their fore-part southwards.

The similar principle of directing the grave-axis from the south to the north as well as of situating the dead with their heads northward was applied in Sambia in the Roman period till the early Middle Ages, which is proved by findings, among the others, at Łunino, Kostrowo, Nos. 1 and 11, Löbertshoff, Powarowka as well as those near Braniewo at Podgórze. This refers both to the finds of human skeletons as well as animal ones<sup>87</sup>.

It might be a proof of a still one common feature in the burial rites, connecting the both regions. In the territories of eastern Lithuania, lying more eastwards, other principles were obligatory with regard to the situation of human as well as horse skeletons. There was a greater discretion in this respect; among the others, horses were buried with their fore parts towards the south, east and also, similarly as in central Lithuania, westwards<sup>88</sup>.

V. In the recently obtained materials from the territory of Sudovia non-burnt bone horse remains were discovered both in cremation and inhumation graves. This co-appearance resulted from regional dif-

<sup>85</sup> O. Klindt-Jensen, *Bornholm...*, o.c., p. 247; the elaboration of the horse-remains also on this page. U. Mohl, *Zoologisk...*, p. 316.

<sup>86</sup> J. Okulicz, *Sprawozdanie z badań prowadzonych w 1959 r. na osadzie i grodzisku w Osinkach pow. Suwałki*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” vol. XXIX—2, Warszawa 1963, p. 199, illustr. 8.

<sup>87</sup> This problem was subjected to the remarks by A. Bezzenberger, *Gräberfeld bei Bludau, Krs. Fischhausen*, „Prussia-Ber.”, vol. XXIII, part 1 (1914), p. 220.

<sup>88</sup> A. Tautavičius, *Vostočnolitevskie kurgany...*, o.c., p. 137.

ferences — from the fact that in the cemeteries in the Czarna Hańcza basin, the main form of burial in the late-Roman period was inhumation, while for the necropoli, situated more southwards, cremation burial was typical. The disappearance of these regional differences took place in the 5th century of our era, when cremation became the leading form of burial — also among the population of the between-river basin of the Rospuda and the Czarna Hańcza.

Two kinds of burials with horses are also visible in the other west-Baltic territories. In the period between the 1st and the 5th century of our era, burials with horses in the Sambia territory were both cremations and inhumations, with a visible quantitative preponderance of the first. A closer examination of suitable materials shows, however, that among the earliest burials assigned to the period from the 1st till the 3rd century of our era, the inhumation ones were in majority, at least in the light of the dated groups, which are known to the author from publications. To them belong the grave-group at Łunino<sup>89</sup>, Malawiszki<sup>90</sup>, Polesie<sup>91</sup>, Szlakalki<sup>92</sup>, Zaostrowie<sup>93</sup>, and at a place near Gierdowy, the district of Kętrzyn, formerly called Perdollen<sup>94</sup>, as well as in the cemetery at Sławosze, which is located more eastwards<sup>95</sup>. As far as cremation burials are concerned, only the findings by G. Bujack in the low barrows at Regeny, in Sambia can be mentioned, however, they are described with no great clarity<sup>96</sup>. As to Western Lithuania, horse remains were found together with cremation burials, dating from the 2nd—1st century before our era at Kurmaičiai, near Kretynga. They represent one of the earliest finds of that type in the Baltic territories<sup>97</sup>.

Numerous cremation burials accompanied with either horse skeletons or their parts, are dating from the epoch not earlier than the 3rd—4th

<sup>89</sup> C. Engel, Das Gräberfeld von Sanditten..., o.c., p. 49.

<sup>90</sup> „Nachrichtenblatt f. deutsche Vorzeit“, vol. VII-1 (1931), p. 8; vol. IX-1 (1933), p. 13.

<sup>91</sup> „Nachrichtenblatt f. deutsche Vorzeit“, vol. VII-1 (1931), p. 8, W. La Baume, Altpreussisches Zaumzeug..., o.c., p. 2.

<sup>92</sup> H. Jankuhn, Ein Gräberfeld..., o.c., pp. 246—257.

<sup>93</sup> „Prussia-Ber“, vol. XXII (1909), p. 466, W. La Baume, Altpreussisches Zaumzeug..., o.c., p. 2.

<sup>94</sup> C. Engel, Neues zur Gotenfrage in Ostpreussen, „Unsere Heimat“, vol. XIII-34 (1930), p. 290.

<sup>95</sup> W. La Baume, Altpreussisches Zaumzeug..., o.c., p. 4 and „Prussia-Ber“, vol. (1877), p. 48; vol. (1878—1879), p. 174, „Altpreussische Monatsschrift“ vol. IX (1872), p. 485; vol. XIV (1877), p. 647.

<sup>96</sup> G. Bujack, Das Gräberfeld zu Regehnen..., o.c., pp. 121—126, „Altpreussen“ vol. IV-2, p. 59, „Nachrichtenblatt f. deutsche Vorzeit“, vol. XV-11/12 (1939), p. 285.

century of our era, i.e. from the period when the inhumation rite was already disappearing. It is also characteristic that in the territory of Sambia as well as in the between-river basin of the Rospuda and the Czarna Hańcza, the disappearance of the burial rite was not accompanied with any change in the way of putting the horse to the grave. Burning of deadly remains did not refer to the horse of the deceased. The finds of burnt horse bones fragments, in the material from the first millennium of our era as well as from the later period, are only sporadic.

VI. So far, in the literature dealing with this problem, burials with horses have been regarded as graves of mounted warriors, horses and this definition has referred rather to more outstanding representatives of the community, who represented the older family-tribal generations<sup>98</sup>. Such a point of view was substantiated, among the other, by the appearance of horse-remains among grave-goods in burials containing also weapons, moreover, some of the burials, richly furnished, were classified as "ducal".

The horse was treated as an expensive part of the grave-furniture, which emphasized the importance of the dead, the more so, that the animals used for those purposes were, — as one can judge, — young, i.e. efficient in utilisation and suitable for consumption<sup>99</sup>. The recent materials from Sudovian territories in north-eastern Poland, provided interesting data also in this respect, which permit evaluate the equity of the above mentioned suggestions. They reveal a variety of burials with horses with regard to the amount and magnificence of their furniture as well as to the kind and character of grave-goods, among which the presence or lack of weapons (swords, spear heads and shield ironwork), draws our attention. The first of these problems is best illustrated by

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<sup>97</sup> R. Kulikauskiene, *Pogrebenia z koniami...*, o.c., p. 210; See C. Engel, *Vorgeschichte der altpreussischen Stämme*, o.c., p. 68.

<sup>98</sup> R. Kulikauskiene, *Pogrebenia z koniami...*, o.c., p. 222; J. Antoniewicz, *Wyniki dotychczasowych badań starożytnego osadnictwa jaćwieskiego w dorzeczu Czarnej Hańczy*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” vol. XXV-1/2, Warszawa 1958, p. 16; W. Chmielewski, K. Jażdżewski, J. Kostrzewski, *Pradzieje Polski*, Warszawa 1965, p. 304. This point of view was also represented by the author of the present article — J. Jaskanis, *Z problematyki dotychczasowych badań archeologicznych nad Jaćwieżą...*, o.c., pp. 56, 61 and „Rocznik Białostocki” vol. V, p. 111.

<sup>99</sup> The possibilities of the interpretation are limited because of lack of more extensive examinations of bone-remains. The examination of the horse at Osowa, comp. K. Krysiak, pp. 141—142, are exceptional with regard to the exploitation of the materials deriving from the Old-Prussian territories. Mentions about the remains of young and of a good breed horses were made by the authors of the elaborations of the archaeological materials of Chojnowo, Podgórze, Tengi, Zareče.

two grave-groups: one from a rich barrow grave of "ducal" type at Sz wajcaria (No. 25), assigned to the 5th century of our era (fig. 5) and the other, diametrically different, from an extremely poor barrow grave, at Osowa (No. 11), dated to the same period, and having only

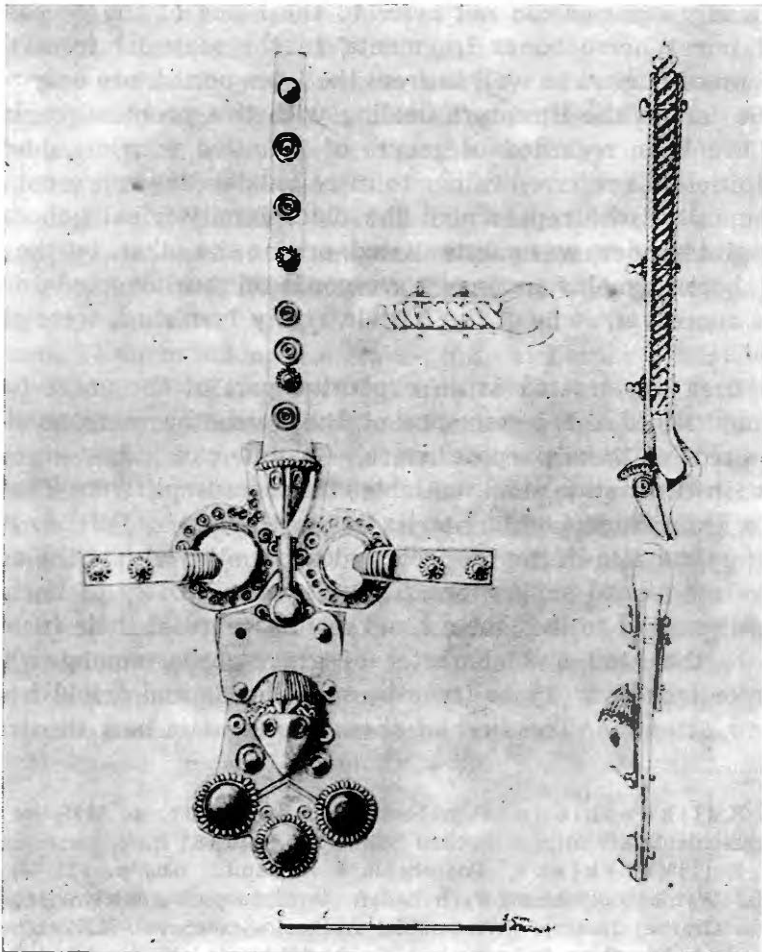


Fig. 9. Sz wajcaria, Suwałki District. A part of the horse halter bridle found in the "ducal" burial in barrow No. 2 (the close of the 4th cent. According to J. Antoniewicz.

a knife as the grave-furniture. The rest of the burials with horses, assigned to the 5th—7th century of our era at Korkliny, Prudziszki as well as, earlier ones, at Netta and Osowa as well as at Raczki, are characterized by an average, and more often, only by a poor grave-furniture. On the other hand, other burials of "ducal" type, also discovered at

Szwajcaria<sup>100</sup> (fig. 9) and Żywa Woda, in the district of Suwałki<sup>101</sup>, were not furnished with additional horse burials, but they contained decorative horse-bridles, not known from burials with horses. The analogous situation can be seen on the territory where Sambian cemeteries appear. Some "ducal" burials with weapons rich as those from the late-Roman period at Kotelnikowo<sup>102</sup>, Powarówka<sup>103</sup>, and later ones from Warnikam<sup>104</sup>, also possessed horse burials, while the others, known, for instance at Powarówka (grave Nos. 1 and 4 — fig. 10)<sup>105</sup>, Chrustolnoje (grave No. 5 — fig. 10)<sup>106</sup>, though with no horse burials they contained, however, rich horse-bridles of similar decorative character as those, found in the Suwałki region. One should also admit, that in other burials with weapons and without horses, the equipment of both a rider and his horse often appeared<sup>107</sup>. The situation in the cemeteries in the region of the Great Mazurian Lakes is similar. Horse burials were, however, only sporadic, during the whole period under examination, and finds of weapons are also more rare, particularly those dating to the second half of the first millennium of our era. None of the rich graves at Tumiany or Kielary, dating from the period between the close nad the beginning of the 8th century of our era, contained a horse among its grave-goods, and only spurs can indicate that the buried person was a male. The unique cremation burial at Tumiany with a horse skeleton, placed below, in the same grave-pit, contained among its grave-goods an iron spur, an iron ending of a belt, as well as several lumps of melted

<sup>100</sup> J. Antoniewicz, M. Kaczyński, J. Okulicz, Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w 1956 roku na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejsc. Szwajcaria pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” vol. XXV, Warszawa 1958, pp. 23—31.

<sup>101</sup> W. Ziemińska-Odojowa, Badania wykopaliskowe w 1959 r. na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejsc. Żywa Woda pow. Suwałki, „Rocznik Białostocki” vol. I, Białystok 1961, pp. 197—202, table VIII.

<sup>102</sup> J. Heydeck, Das Gräberfeld Warengen bei Medenau, Krs. Fischhausen, „Prussia-Ber” vol. XXII (1900—1904), 1909, pp. 232—234, illustr. 150, 151; N. Åberg, Ostpreussen in Völkerwanderungszeit, Uppsala 1919, p. 51.

<sup>103</sup> „Prussia-Ber” (1881/2), 1883, pp. 33 and 127.

<sup>104</sup> O. Tischler, H. Kemke, Ostpreussische Alterthümer, Königsberg 1902, p. 412; O. Tischler, Bericht über prähistorische-anthropologischen Arbeiten..., o.c., „Schriften der physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg”, vol. XVIII (1877), 1878 pp. 273—274.

<sup>105</sup> K. Städie, Ausgrabungen auf dem Galgenberge bei Kirpehnen, Krs. Fischhausen im Jahre 1902, „Prussia-Ber” vol. XXII (1900—1904), 1909, pp. 366—368.

<sup>106</sup> J. Heideck, Gräberfeld v. Wiekau, im Volk Kuckskebergegenannt, „Prussia-Ber” vol. XXII (1900—1904) 1909, p. 218, tabl. 37 and 38; W. Gaerte, Urgeschichte Ostpreussens..., o.c., p. 202, ilustr. 152; W. La Baume, Altpreussisches Zaumzeug..., o.c., p. 7.

<sup>107</sup> Numerous examples are given by W. La Baume, Altpreussisches Zaumzeug, o.c., p. 2 ff.

bronze<sup>108</sup>. The modesty of these grave-goods is in contrast with the grave-furniture of a number of other graves, dating from the 5th—6th—7th century of our era, and located in the same cemetery, for instance, Nos. 26, 30a, 32, or the latest, No. 38, dating from the 9th—10th century of our era<sup>109</sup>. When the richest male burials were furnished with either a horse (and wick is interesting, usually with a simple harness only), or with exclusively an imposing harness, the majority of the rest of the burials with horses contained only a poor grave-furniture, sometimes the



Fig. 10. Powarówka, the Kaliningrad region. The reconstruction of the horse-halter bridle from a "ducal" burial, dating from the 2nd cent. of our era. According to W. La Baume.



Fig. 11. Chrustalnoje, the Kaliningrad region. The reconstruction of a horse-bridle dating from the beginnings of the 3rd cent. of our era. According to W. La Baume.

horse being their only grave-good. More over, it is an interesting fact, that many from those burials with horses, had no weapons at all. This was indicated by a review of burials with horses, made on the basis of published materials. From about 70 grave-groups, dated to the period from the beginning of the first millennium of our era till the 8th century, 46 contained no weapons among their grave-goods<sup>110</sup>. Those

<sup>108</sup> L. Fromm, *Die Goten im Kreise Allenstein*, „Unsere Heimat”, vol. XIV-24, 1932, p. 281.

<sup>109</sup> J. Heydeck, *Das Gräberfeld v. Daumen und ein Rückblick auf den Anfang einer deutsch-nationalen Kunst*, „Prussia-Ber.”, vol. XIX (1893/1895) 1895, pp. 46—49 ff.

<sup>110</sup> These data should be approached as hypothetical — numerous groups, which in the literature are only generally defined as „graves of warriors with horses” or „Graves of riders” and lack full grave-furniture to be published with, have been excluded. The accessible to me materials, which constituted a help for the above-



grave-groups derive from 27 cemeteries on the whole west-Baltic area <sup>111</sup>. The over 20 remaining and discovered only in 19 cemeteries, were furnished with weapons <sup>112</sup>. An almost double quantitative preponderance of burials furnished with no weapons, was not characteristic, however, for the whole period under examination. Only 18 grave-groups, furnished with no weapons, and 16 furnished with them are dating from the first half of the first millennium of our era <sup>113</sup>. The above-mentioned data might be a proof that the number of graves with horses and not furnished with weapons was gradually increasing. It is not excluded that this resulted from the gradually decreasing number of weapons occurring in the grave-furniture. That process began in the cemeteries on the Sambian territory, from the turn of the 5th and the 6th century of our era, and also in the Sudovian "necropolis" in the between-river basin of the Rospuda and the Czarna Hańcza in a period somewhat earlier, beginning with the 5th century of our era. According to the author's point of view, burials with horses must show in this respect, the general tendencies, typical of the burial rite of western-Baltic tribes, consisting in the changes in the grave-goods given to the deceased <sup>114</sup>. I do not think, however, that these striking differences in the above-described burials could be caused exclusively by a factor of this type. It is also interesting

made evaluations, reveal similar proportions — and according to the author — sufficiently characterize the analysed differences with regard to the furniture of graves with horses.

<sup>111</sup> Elbląg — Benkenstein, grave No. 8, Elbląg — Nowe Miasto, Chojnowo, grave No. 15, Goitieny, grave No. 4, Grebity, grave No. 93, 16, 147, Sławosze, Izobilnoe, Korkliny stan. I, Korkliny stan. II — barrow 2, Kojeny, grave No. 5, Kotelnikowo, grave No. 3, Łęcze grave No. 20—22, 25, 32, 38, 40, 55, Łunino, grave No. 8, Medvedevo, Osowa, barrow 11, Poddubnoe, Podgórze, grave No. 11/48, 23, Prudziszki, Raczki, Popelken, graves No. 11, 18, 36, 37, Rantau, Regeny, grave No. II, Szlakalki, Tengi, graves No. 14, 17, 29, 30, 37, 38, Szwajcaria, barrow No. 56, Tumiany.

<sup>112</sup> Chrustanoe, grave No. 5, Elbląg Nowe-Miasto, Grebity, graves No. K, 8, t. Gr. Friedrichsberg, Kotelnikowo, grave No. 31, Kojeny grave No. 4, Lauth, grave No. 4, Lobity, Netta, grave No. 30, Osowa barrow No. 41, Perdollen, grave No. 7, Podgórze 10/5, Powarówka, Popelken, grave No. 4, Regeny, barrow IV, Szlakalki, grave No. 1 and 26, Szudity, Szwajcaria, barrow 25, Trentity, grave No. 11, Warnikam, grave No. 1.

<sup>113</sup> With no weapons: Goitieny, Grebity, Izobilnoe, Korkliny stan. II, Kotelnikowo, grave No. 3, Kojeny, grave No. 5, Łunino, grave No. 8, Medvedevo, Osowa, barrow 11, Poddubnoe, Raczki, Rantau, Szlakalki, Regeny, Szwajcaria barrow 56. With weapons: Chrustolnoe (?), Grebity, Gr. Friedrichsberg, Kojeny, grave No. 4, Kotelnikowo, grave No. 31, Lauth, Lobity, Netta, grave No. 30, Osowa barrow 41, Perdollen, grave No. 7, Powarówka, Regeny, grave No. 4, Szlakalki, Szudity, Szwajcaria, barrow 25.

<sup>114</sup> With regard to the cemeteries of the Sambian-natangian type, C. Engel, *W. La Baume, Kulturen...*, o.c., p. 180 and with regard to the Sudovian J. Ja s-

that in the cemeteries dating from the first, as well as from the second half of the first millennium of our era, burials of both types often appeared in the same period of time. This is shown by the materials coming from the cemeteries, among the others, at Szlakalki, Regeny and Grebity in Sambia, as well as at Osowa and Szwajcaria in the region of Suwałki, and also from those dating from the later period, at Podgórze, Tengi, Kojeny, Popiołki. Moreover, the quantitative preponderance of burials with no weapons, constitutes a permanent phenomenon, which is characteristic of the beginnings of the first millennium of our era. In that period, weapons constituted, as we know, one of the basic elements of the grave-furniture of dead male individuals, both in Sambia and in the territories situated more to the east of Sambia, including the Sudovian region of Suwałki.

VII. The reasons motivating the choice of the given grave-furniture were intricate and different<sup>115</sup>, and we lack in this article the place to deal with them more extensively. It seems, however, that burials with horses signalize the necessity the hitherto opinion to be corrected, namely, that such burials were chiefly those of warriors. Undoubtedly, in the substantiated cases as, for instance, in the case of "ducal" burial such an opinion can be still actual. What explanation could be given, however, for the recognition of those burials, too numerous in the obtained material to be regarded as incidental ones if besides a horse and human remains, nothing else has been found in them?<sup>116</sup>; or parts of an attire (brooches and buckles), implements and objects of universal utility (knives, pottery, sickles, querns, shears, planes, and, rarely, spurs)? Regarding the horse as one of the elements of the grave-furniture, it seems, in the context of the above mentioned objects, that the interpretation of the whole grave-group as a grave of a mounted warrior is no longer substantiated, and the appearance of a horse together with weapons in one grave-group indicates other functions of a given deceased than exclusively that of a mounted warrior. The mediaeval Prussians used to sacrifice to their dead all what, according to their opinion, could be needed by the buried in their future life, in its posthumous form. This resulted from their belief that soul was immortal, from their animistic conception both of life and of the image of the construction of

kanis, *Z problematyki...*, o.c., pp. 54—57. A different process occurred in the cemeteries in the Great Mazurian Lakes region, beginning with the middle of the 6th cent. of the era. It is visible, for instance, at Tumiany.

<sup>115</sup> J. Rosen-Przeworska, *Tradycje celtyckie w obrzędowości protosłowian*, Warszawa 1964, p. 23. About the weapon equipment of Celtic warriors.

<sup>116</sup> For instance Lunino, grave No. 8, Medvedevo, Podgórze, grave No. 11/48, Popelken, grave No. 18, Zareče, Tengi, grave No. 14, Szwajcaria, barrow 56.

the other world, where everybody continues to keep the position he hold in life, and continues to live the same life. Thus dead warriors were given, besides objects, their wives, servants, hunting animals, as well as their horses „...and a common man was burnt after his death with all his property; because that all was to rise from the dead together with him, according to their belief, and serve him as before”<sup>117</sup>. “...Sô mit dem unedâlin wart vorbrant nâch tôdis wart, swaz dâ angehört ir amt, want, daz di selbin dine intsamt mit in soldin widir irstân, sus was irs geloubin wân unde in dinen vorbaz me, als si getan hattin ê.”

There are no bases to think, that in older times the beliefs of the Baltic population were “expressing the principles” different from those from the beginning of the Middle Ages, when their more developed forms constituted their only distinction<sup>118</sup>. On the contrary, the facts written down by chroniclers most probably expressed the ages-lasting crystallization of beliefs, traditions customs and rites, including also the burial rite. World of beliefs, which expressed a definite form of social conscience, crystallized itself and developed on the basis of factors determining the conditions of a rather primitive existence and of its possibilities. Grave-goods reflect, in some way, those conditions, chiefly in the aspect of individual husbandry occupations, Implements as sickles, knives, planes, querns, showing the agricultural character of the population are not rare among the grave-goods of Baltic tribes living in last phases of primitive common ownership system in the first millennium of our era<sup>119</sup>. A male burial furnished with a sickle, a knife, an iron plough-share and a spear-head was found at Szwarzcaria<sup>120</sup>. Excavations of settlements confirm the agricultural occupations of their inhabitants, and show that breeding played an important role in their life<sup>121</sup>. Bone-material, among which a high percentage of horse bones draws the attention, gives evidence of breeding, particularly in the early Iron Age<sup>122</sup>. This percentage diminished quantitatively in the early Middle-Ages and laged behind cattle, sheer

<sup>117</sup> Mikołaj of Jeroszyn, Kronike von Pruzinland, cited after A. Mierzyński, *Źródła do mytologii...*, o.c., part II, pp. 59—60.

<sup>118</sup> H. Łowmiański, *Prusy pogańskie*, Toruń 1935, p. 44, comp. A. Fischer, *Etnografia dawnych Prusów*, Gdynia 1937, pp. 32—45.

<sup>119</sup> For instance handmill-stones in barrows at Regeny. G. Bujack, *Das Gräberfeld zu Regenhen...*, o.c., p. 121.

<sup>120</sup> J. Antoniewicz, *Odkrycie grobu rolnika jaćwieskiego z narzędziami produkcji z okresu rzymskiego*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. III, Białystok 1962, pp. 205—220.

<sup>121</sup> J. Jaskanis, *Badania archeologiczne w woj. białostockim...*, o.c., pp. 111—112, cited after J. Antoniewicz, J. Okulicz.

<sup>122</sup> K. Krysiak, *Charakterystyka materiału zwierzęcego ze stanowiska w Jeziorku pow. Giżycko*, „Materiały Starożytne”, vol. III, Warszawa 1958, pp. 72—74; I. G. Pronina, W. F. Garutt, *Ostatki żywotnych iz poselenii III do n.e.* —

and hornless cattle. This probably resulted from the gradual change of the role played by the horse in the husbandry. Primarily, the animal was exploited, to the greater extend, for consumption purposes, later on it served as a draught horse, particularly in soil cultivation, as well as a means of transportation<sup>123</sup>.

In connection with the above, it seems that burials with horses, appearing at the beginning of the first millennium of our era, should to be interpreted as a reflexion of husbandry-occupations in the burial rite of the population, for which the horse played a role of utmost importance as an animal useful for the cultivation of soil and helpful in guarding herds of bred animals, including cattle and horses in between-forests conditions. The type of the utilized horse constitutes an important indication in this respect. It belongs to the sylvan tarpan type. Remains of this type of horse were found in the grave-material in the region of Suwałki, as well as at most other sites. On those occasions the archaeologists underline small seize of excavated horse skeletons. Sylvan tarpans, together with bizens, stags, and deers constituted the fauna of the forest-belt in central and northern Europe, and were characterized by particulars, rendering them exceptionally favourable for breeding, as they did not require any special care, out of preventing them from a runaway to wild herds<sup>124</sup>. The particular features of the wild sylvan show that the husbandry must have been based more on domestication of those horses than on hunting those which lived wild<sup>125</sup>.

Thus, the interpretation of burials with horses should reveal a tendency to assume, that men buried in this way, were in majority members of the clan collectives, or territorial communities who, first of all, had

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V w.n.e. na territorii Minskoj oblasti BSSR, „Materiały po Archeologii BSSR”, vol. I, Mińsk 1957, pp. 170—172.

<sup>123</sup> W. J. Całkin, Materiały dla istorii skotowodstva i ochoty v drevnej Rusi, „Materiały i Issledowanija po archeologii SSSR”, No. 51, M-L 1956, and Životnovodstvo i ochota v lesnoi połose Wostočnoj Europy w rannem železnom veke, No. 107, 1962, pp. 5—96 and recently K. Paaver, P. Kulikauskas, Znaleziska kości zwierzęcych z grodzisk i osad z okresu wczesnożelaznego i rzymskiego na Litwie, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. II, Białystok 1965, p. 276 ff.

<sup>124</sup> Compare the description of the tarpan-type horses, W. Pruski, Hodowla koni, vol. I, Warszawa 1960, p. 24 ff. More extensively in this respect W. Pruski, Dzikie konie wschodniej Europy, „Roczniki Nauk Rolniczych” vol. 85, Warszawa 1959, pp. 68—70 ff, then, particularly p. 89, in which about an enormous assimilation to the given milieu. Giving numerous examples, W. Pruski stresses the great danger for the owners of domesticated horses from the part of wild herds, to which mares used to run away.

<sup>125</sup> W. Pruski, Dzikie konie..., o.c., p. 89 writes that there was no possibility of domestication of full-grown horses. The breeding of foals was, too, very difficult. Even when domesticated they remained wild and „...thrown out of physical balance”.

been fulfilling the definite husbandry-activities and particularly that of overseeing on horseback the tended herds, which included also the horses exploited in harness. It might be useful to refer in this respect to formal analogies, which constitute a connection between our finds together with those from other territories of Europe, and facts referring to the territories forming the belt of steppes in eastern Europe, i.e. to those, where breeding-occupations prevailed, having its specific expression in the local burial rite and grave-materials<sup>126</sup>.

It is not excluded, that we find here the repercussions of the influence by foreign ideas, coming from the southern-east, the appearance of which, in the burial rite of Baltic tribes, resulted in a custom of specific expression, namely in burying some of the dead with their horses. Similarly, under the influence of waves of steppe nomads, who were appearing in south-eastern Europe in the second half of the first millennium of our era, burials with horses appeared in the Slavic-Avarian cemeteries and, earlier, in the Germanic area of central and east Germany<sup>127</sup>. In our case this must have been connected with important transformations in the world of hitherto ideas because the close of the old and the turn of the new era was expressively marked among Baltic peoples by changes taking place in their burial rite. Those changes found their expression in the appearance of local inhumation burials<sup>128</sup>, and in

<sup>126</sup> K. F. Smirnov, O pogrebeniach z koniami i trupopoloženiami epochi bronzy w Niżnem Powołże, „Sovetskaja Archeologia” vol. XXVII (1957), pp. 209—221; J. A. Šer, Pogrebenie s konem w čujskoj dolinie, comp. of 1/1961, p. 280; S. W. Kiselev, Drevnaja istoria južnoi Sibiri, Moskva 1951, pp. 459, 531, 534—538.

<sup>127</sup> „Sometimes” was used with regard to cremation of human remains with horses by Germanic tribes. Mentioned by Tacitus, Germania, Works, vol. II, Warszawa 1957, p. 279. Burials with horses appear in the Germanic cemeteries in Germany in the half of the first millennium of our era. Comp. E. Grohne, Chaukisch-sachsischer Friedhof auf der Düne von Bremen-Mahndorf, „Germanen Erbe”, vol. V-25/6 (1910), pp. 70—71, illustr. 4; B. Schmiedt, Neue Völkerwanderungszeitliche Funde zwischen Unstrut und Ohre, „Jahresschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte”, vol. XLVII, Halle 1963, pp. 357—360; G. Behm-Blanke, Forschungsprobleme der Völkerwanderungszeit..., o.c., „Ausgrabungen und Funde” vol. VIII (1963), p. 5. It is of interest to us, that burials of this type occur in the so called „alaman” cemeteries, where human skeletons with skulls deformed in an oriental, nomadic way, also occur. O. Klindt-Jensen, about south—eastern influences in Scandinavia, Bornholm..., o.c., p. 247. The same author, Ost und West and Bornholm Jernalder, „Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark”, Kopenhagen 1961, pp. 157—163. Finally burials with horses constitute an often phenomenon in the cemeteries of Avars and Slavs. Compare J. Eisner, Devinska Nova Ves, further archaeological examples „Archeologicke Rozhledy”, vol. XIII-3 (1961), pp. 375—385; vol. XVI-3 (1964), pp. 370—379, „Slovenska Archeologia”, vol. XI-1 (1963), pp. 87—110 ff.

<sup>128</sup> It is stressed by W. La Baume, Altpreussisches Zaumzeug..., o.c., p. 1.

the emerging custom of giving rich grave-goods to the deceased. The interpretation of burials with horses as typical of men specially connected with the husbandry-occupations of grooms, by no mean denies the exploitation of horses in military expeditions and the role of the horse as that of an attribute of war commandant<sup>128</sup>. It seems that the burials with horses belonging to the "ducal" type represent a phenomenon of a slightly different meaning than that of usual graves with horses. The social position of those men, their commanding character in the case of a military action and probably also in the field of husbandry, might be also emphasized by, among the others, the presence of the horse among the grave-goods. It seems that the burials of "ducal" type were just those, which constituted the prototype of the later burials of knights and noblemen, known in the Middle-Ages and commented by Dusburg, Jeroszyn and others. However, as I have already mentioned, in the first millennium of our era, and particularly in the Roman and Great Migration periods, the participation of the horse in the grave-furniture of "ducal" type did not constitute an obligatory form, being often replaced by a sumptuous bridle, which — what is interesting — did not accompany horse skeletons in the west-Baltic territories. This might also be a proof that the horse was not one of the main attributes in the equipment of the warrior of a higher rank, and certainly it was not as important as the spear and the shield, which constitute a permanent element of the grave-furniture.

The above considerations should be ended by the following conclusions.

1. In the first millennium of our era, burials with horses occurred in the cemeteries in Sambia, Natangia and Sudovia. The similar finds, deriving from the territories of the region of the Great Mazurian Lakes belong to isolated and non-typical phenomena.

2. Burials with horses belong to rather frequently occurring finds from the first millennium of our era being not, however, a common phenomenon. They appear in the cemeteries dating from the first centuries of our era, and in many cases their number increases in cemeteries from the second half of the first millennium of our era, particularly from its end, when they began to occur also in the territories in the region of the Great Mazurian Lakes.

3. The Sudovian finds as well as those deriving from other west-Baltic territories, represent similar forms of burials and frequently also of graves, the same way of location of both human and animal remains,

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<sup>128</sup> Horses of a similar type were used for war-expeditions by Germans, not gaining, however, recognition of the ancient authors as valuable saddle-horses. See Tacitus, *Germania...*, o.c., p. 268.

and the observance of the same principles in the orientation of grave-pits and burials.

4. Kinds of the grave-furniture in the case of burials with horses in the Sudovian territories were analogous to those in the other west-Baltic territories dating from the same period. In the whole period under consideration the majority of burials with horses contained no weapons among their grave-goods.

5. The presence of horse remains in the grave-furniture resulted from religious beliefs and ritual customs arising from the ideology of a community the occupations of which were of agricultural and breeding character. Thus it would not be right to consider the whole of those burials as belonging to mounted warriors, the more so, that the presence of the horse in the grave-furniture of rich, "ducal" burials, as well as in other, male burials, containing weapons did not constitute an indispensable condition in the first millennium of our era.





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### SOME PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH ON THE ROMAN PERIOD IN MASOVIA AND PODLACHIA (PODLASIE)

Archaeological studies of the problems of the Roman period in Masovia and Podlachia have greatly developed in the last ten years. At that time, bases for more detailed studies of those problems have been widened thanks to the publication of the materials being the result of earlier excavations carried out by M. Drewko, R. Jakimowicz, Z. Szmit and K. Salewicz, as well as thanks to new excavations undertaken and carried out by J. Okulicz, A. Kempisty, A. Niewęglowski, J. Pyrgała and other representatives of the younger generation of archaeologists from the Warsaw centre. Monographs of four cemeteries: at Niecieplin, Garwolin district <sup>1</sup>, at Osieck, Otwock district <sup>2</sup>, at Grodzisk Mazowiecki (Kaięczyn) <sup>3</sup> and in Warsaw-Kawęczyn <sup>4</sup> have a particularly great importance for these problems. All these monographs written on the basis of the materials which had been discovered still before World War II, were presented as theses for degree at Warsaw University in the years 1955—1956. Moreover, various excavations have been carried out since 1956; their results were only partially published, or even not mentioned in archaeological literature at all. Among others, the results obtained at the excavation of the cemeteries at Brulino-Koski, Ostrów Mazowiecka district (1956—1960) <sup>5</sup>, Korzeń, Gostynin district (1960—1961) <sup>6</sup>, Kitki

<sup>1</sup> R. Kozłowska, Cmentarzysko z okresu późnolateńskiego i wczesnorzymskiego w Niecieplinie, pow. Garwolin, „Materiały Starożytne”, vol. IV (1958), pp. 337—365.

<sup>2</sup> I. Dąbrowska, Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego w Osiecku, pow. Garwolin, „Materiały Starożytne” vol. IV (1958), pp. 255—300.

<sup>3</sup> B. Barankiewicz, Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego w Grodzisku Mazowieckim, „Materiały Starożytne”, vol. V (1959), pp. 191—231.

<sup>4</sup> B. Jankowska, Cmentarzysko z późnego okresu rzymskiego w Warszawie-Kawęczynie, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXVIII (1963), no. 4, pp. 336—358.

<sup>5</sup> A. Kempisty, K. Dąbrowski, Cmentarzysko w Brulinie-Koskach pow. Ostrów Mazowiecka, „Z otchłani wieków”, vol. XXIV (1958), no. 5, pp. 331—334;

site "Żal", Przasnysz district (1961—1952)<sup>7</sup>, Rostki, Ostrów Mazowiecka district (1957—1958)<sup>8</sup>, Sarnaki, Łosice district (1959)<sup>9</sup>, Goździk, Garwolin district (1960—1961)<sup>10</sup>, Garwolin, site 1 (Leszczyńska street)—(1958—1961)<sup>11</sup>, Nur-Kolonia, site I, Ostrów Mazowiecka district (1964—1965)<sup>12</sup>, Kleszewo, Pułtusk district (1964—1965)<sup>13</sup>, and also on the settlement at Poświętne, Płońsk district (1959—1964)<sup>14</sup> as well as at other sites deserve special attention. The results of those excavations and the monographs published allow us to see clearly the character of archaeological cultures of the Roman period in Masovia and Podlasie (Podlachia) in a degree authorising us to make further research postulates and to advance new working hypotheses, as well as to make the older ones more precise.

The interest in the problems of the late Roman period was particularly due to the materials obtained, as that period was known until recently on that territory chiefly from not numerous and fragmentary finds, giving no clear picture of the whole. Enough to say that it was not before the years 1960—1961 that a late Roman cemetery (at Korzeń, Gostynin district) was explored completely — if we not take into account the cemetery of Brulino-Koski which had been partially destroyed before the excavations were started.

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A. Kempisty, „Inventaria Archaeologica”, fasc. XV (1965), pl. 92—93; Idem, Birytałne cmentarzysko z późnego okresu rzymskiego w miejscowości Brulino-Koski, pow. Ostrów Mazowiecka, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” (in print).

<sup>5</sup> A. Kempisty, „Inventaria Archaeologica”, fasc. XV (1965), pl. 89—91; idem, Ciałopalne cmentarzysko późnorzymskie w Korzeniu, pow. Gostynin, „Materiały Starożytne”, vol. XI (in print).

<sup>7</sup> J. Okulicz, „Inventaria Archaeologica”, fasc. XV (1965), pl. 94—95; Ł. Okulicz, J. Okulicz, Niektóre problemy pogranicza Mazowska i Mazur w świetle nowych materiałów archeologicznych, „1962 — Rok Ziemi Mazowieckiej”, Płock 1962, pp. 111—117.

<sup>8</sup> J. Okulicz, „Inventaria Archaeologica”, fasc. XV (1965), pl. 88; idem, Dwa cmentarzyska z kręgami kamiennymi z okresu rzymskiego w miejscowości Brzeźno i Rostki w pow. ostrołęckim, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” (in print).

<sup>9</sup> A. Kempisty, Cmentarzysko z późnego okresu rzymskiego w Sarnakach, pow. Łosice, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” (in print).

<sup>10</sup> A. Niewęglowski, Ogólne wyniki i problematyka badań stanowisk z okresu późnolatańskiego i rzymskiego w okolicach Garwolina, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXX (1964), nos. 3—4, pp. 229—243; see pp. 234—237.

<sup>11</sup> A. Niewęglowski, op. cit., pp. 229—234.

<sup>12</sup> The site was examined by Teresa Węgrzynowicz in 1964 and by the author in 1965. The materials being worked out by the author.

<sup>13</sup> The materials, not published yet, are being worked out by Stefan Woyda to whom I owe information concerning the Kleszewo site.

<sup>14</sup> J. Pyrgała, Najważniejsze wyniki z badań osady późnego okresu lateńskiego i wczesnego okresu wpływów rzymskich w Poświętnem, pow. Płońsk, „Światowit”, vol. XXIV (1962), pp. 285—303.

In the light of the materials known to us, the following are the most important problems of the Roman period in Masovia: the division between the older and the younger periods, the time and character of the changes of the archaeological cultures at that turning-point as well as the origin and, perhaps, also the ethnical appurtenance of the new culture.

1) Divisions — a list of the cemeteries of the Roman period in Masovia and Podlasie <sup>15</sup> show distinctly three groups of same as regards the time they were in use: a) cemeteries established and abandoned in an earlier period b) cemeteries established in an earlier period and used in a later one as well c) cemeteries established and used in the late Roman period existing sometimes to the beginning of the Great Migration period. The following cemeteries should be assigned to group a) Domaradzyn, Łowicz District <sup>16</sup>, Garwolin site I — Leszczyńska-street (formerly Leszczyzny Nowe), Łęgonice, Rawa Mazowiecka district <sup>17</sup>, Masów, Ryki district <sup>18</sup>, Niecieplin, Garwolin district, Osieck, Otwock district, Piastkowo-Pajki, Przasnysz district <sup>19</sup>, Pałuki, Ciechanów district <sup>20</sup>, Rostki, Ostrołęka district, Tuchlin, Wyszaków district <sup>21</sup>, Zduny, Łowicz district <sup>22</sup>. Only the better examined, published archaeological sites have been mentioned here; those known only from accidental discoveries, hardly mentioned in literature and providing therefore no solid basis for a comparative analysis, have been omitted. To group b) belong the following cemeteries: Drohiczyn-Kozarówka, Siemiatycze district <sup>23</sup>, Grodzisk Mazowiecki I

<sup>15</sup> A. Kempisty, Obrządek pogrzebowy w okresie rzymskim na Mazowszu, „Światowit”, vol. XXVI (1965), pp. 13—56, 65—66, 78.

<sup>16</sup> T. Piętka-Dąbrowski, Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego w miejscowości Domaradzyn, pow. Łowicz, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXVI (1959), nos. 3—4, pp. 225—230.

<sup>17</sup> K. Jagmin, Opis mogiły-kurhanu pod Łęgonicami, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. I (1873), pp. 141—155; idem, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. III (1876), pp. 83—94.

<sup>18</sup> J. Gurba, Cmentarzysko lateńsko-rzymskie w Masowie, pow. Garwolin, badane w 1953 r., „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XX (1954), no. 3, p. 303.

<sup>19</sup> F. E. Peiser, Das Gräberfeld von Pajki bei Prassnitz in Polen, Königsberg i. Pr. 1916.

<sup>20</sup> W. La Baume, Ostgermanische Grabfunde aus Paluki, Kreis Zichenau, „Altpreussen”, vol. 8 (1943), no. 1, pp. 2—8.

<sup>21</sup> Ł. Okuliczowa, Cmentarzysko z okresu wpływów rzymskich w Tuchlinie, pow. Wyszaków, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXX (1964), no. 3/4, pp. 372—387.

<sup>22</sup> A. Kietlińska, Cmentarzysko z okresu wpływów rzymskich we wsi Zduny, pow. Łowicz, „Sprawozdania PMA”, vol. I (1948), pp. 184—186.

<sup>23</sup> Z. Szmit, Groby z okresu lateńskiego i rzymskiego na cmentarzu „Kozarówka” w Drohiczynie nad Bugiem, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. VI (1921), pp. 61—70; idem, Cmentarz lateńsko-rzymski „Kozarówka” in Drohiczyn nad Bugiem, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. VIII (1923), pp. 152—175.

(Kałęczyn), Hryniewiczze Wielkie, Bielsk Podlaski district<sup>24</sup>, Stara Wieś, Węgrów district<sup>25</sup>, Szczytno, Włocławek district<sup>26</sup>; to group c) — the following sites: Brulino-Koski, Ostrów Mazowiecka district, Goździk site I, Garwolin district, Warszawa-Kawęczyn, Korzeń, Gostynin district, Sarnaki, Łosice district, Kłoczew, Ryki district<sup>27</sup>. I am not quite sure if the last site should be assigned to group c) as it is still under examination.

In graves in the cemeteries assigned to group a) we find, beside typical finds of the early Roman period dated to the 1st—2nd century, interesting groups of objects determining the upper limit of the data of those cemeteries. Those latest groups of grave finds are determined by certain types of brooches (phibulae). We should mention here, first of all, two burials under the stone ring no. 6 at Rostki, Ostrołęka district; a cross-bow brooch (phibula) with its foot turned under and widened at the end was found in burial I (the older one); a brooch (phibula) with a sharply marked profile, trumpet-like head and foot ending with a conical knob was found in burial II (the younger one). Attention should be also drawn to the following burials: 1) burial I/II at Niecieplin where a brooch with its foot turned under, similar to that from Rostki, was found; it was accompanied by a late "eye-brooch" type, 2) burial XV at Niecieplin having in its inventory a brooch with a sharply marked profile, a trumpet-shaped head and a foot ending with a conical knob, similar to that from the earlier burial (II) under the stone ring 6 at Rostki, 3) burial XV at Osieck, Otwock district, containing a brooch of the same kind with a sharply marked profile. At Domaradzyn, it is difficult to distinguish the youngest burial as from the archaeological point of view the material there is only slightly differentiated. There is no doubt, however, that brooches with a broad bow, belonging to group II fig. 41, according to Almgren, which were found in three burials at that site, should be assigned to the close of the older period. Identical brooches and their variants, as well as rectangular brooches with a knee-like bent bow (group IV, figs. 136—137, 140—141) serve as an indicator of the young-

<sup>24</sup> Z. Szmít, Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań archeologicznych w Hryniewiczach Wielkich koło Bielska Podlaskiego, part 2 — Jamy ciałopalne z późniejszego okresu wpływów rzymskich, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. VII (1922), pp. 107—120.

<sup>25</sup> W. Rañig, Das ostgermanische Gräberfeld von Stara Wieś, Krs. Sokolow, „Die Burg”, vol. 3 (1942), no. 2, pp. 179—224.

<sup>26</sup> K. Jażdżewski, Gocki grób z połowy II wieku i grób popielnicowy z IV wieku po Chryst. w Szczytnie w pow. włocławsk., „Z otchłani wieków”, vol. XIII (1938), nos. 7—8, pp. 77—94; J. Miśkiewicz, Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego w miejscowości Szczytno, pow. Włocławek, „Materiały Starożytne”, vol. V (1959), pp. 259—282.

<sup>27</sup> B. Barankiewicz, Cmentarzysko ciałopalne z okresu rzymskiego w Kłoczewie pow. Ryki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXVIII (1963), nos. 3, pp. 289—290.

est phase of making use of the cemetery at Garwolin, site I (Leszczyńska street). Unfortunately, we do not know anything exact about brooches belonging to the youngest phase of the cemetery at Masow, Ryki district. All we know is that a small part of burials at that site is dating from the beginning of the late Roman period. At Pałuki, Ciechanów district, like at Domaradzyń and at Garwolin—the youngest burials contained the same brooches with a broad bow (Almgren's group II). The brooches which occurred at Tuchlin, Wyszaków district, were also but slightly differentiated from the chronological point of view. Most of them should be assigned to the final phase of the older period. They were chiefly represented by specimens with the broad S-shaped bow and by those with a comb on the bow (group V, fig. 120—126). At Zduny, Łowicz district, the youngest grave was that numbered 22, in which a brooch of group V (according to Almgren) was found. No brooches which could be dated to a later time than the first century were found at Łęgonice, and therefore that site is of no value for the study of the time at which cemeteries dating from the early Roman period were being commonly abandoned. Cemeteries assigned by us to group b) provided brooches of the types known to us from the earliest burials in cemeteries of group a) — such as brooches with a sharply marked profile, trumpet-shaped head and foot ending with a conical knob; similar brooches but with a foot ending with one or a few spheric knobs, rectangular brooches with a knee-shaped bow in grave 23 at Grodzisk Mazowiecki, further — brooches with a broad S-shaped bow, a brooch made of spirally twisted wire in grave 33 at Szczytno, Włocławek district, "eye-brooches" from graves no. P2 and from an inhumation burial in the same place; brooches with a broad bow of group II, fig. 41, we know from grave no. 7 at Stara Wieś, and another rectangular brooch of more or less the same period, with a knee-shaped bow, was found in grave no. 25 in the same cemetery. At Drohiczyn-Kozarówka, late "eye-brooches" occurred in inhumation burial no. XXIX. But in a part of cemeteries of group b) no brooches of that phase appeared. So for instance at Kleszewo, Pułtusk district, we found only materials dating from the late La Tène nad from early phases of the older Roman periods, and, besides that, in a smaller number, groups of finds of the late Roman period, belonging already to the 3rd—4th century. A similar situation was at Kitki, Przasnysz district, Late Roman materials found in cemeteries of group b) are characteristic by a great number of cross-bow brooches with a foot turned under, made either of bronze or of silver. Particular attention should be called to the following graves: grave no. 1 at Grodzisk Mazowiecki, where we had found a few silver brooches of that type with a widened foot and adorned with ring-like flanges on the bow and on the head; grave no. 1

Brooches according to Almgren																					
	KORZEN'	GOZDZIK	WARSZAWA - KAWĘCZYN	KŁOCZEW	BRULINO - KOSKI	NUR - KOLONIA	SARNAKI	HRANIWICZE	SZCZYTNO	STARA WIEŚ	DROHICZYN	PIASTÓW - PAJKI	GRODZISK	ROSTKI	NIĘCIEPIŃ	OSIECK	TUCHLIN	PALUKI	DOMARADZYN	GARWOLIN SITE 1	ZDUJNY
1										■		■								■	■
2										■								■	■	■	■
3																		■			■
4												■				■	■				
5								■									■				
6												■	■	■	■	■					
7								■	■		■	■			■						
8						S						■		■	■						
9													■								
10		■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■				■							
11				■		■		S	■												
12		■		■	■	■															
13			■																		
14		■																			

Group C

Group B

Group A

Diagram showing the occurrence of particular types of brooches in Masovian and Podlachian cemeteries of the late Roman period.

at Drohiczyn-Kozarówka, containing bronze brooches, with faceted bows and spheric knobs on the ends of the spring, and grave no. XIX in the same cemetery, where bronze brooches with ring-like flanges on the bow were found. Definitely late Roman brooches with a foot turned under and with double springs occurred in burial P 1 at Szczytno. At Kleszewo all brooches dating from the late Roman period belonged to the cross-bow type, with a foot turned under, and were made either of bronze or of silver. In one case a brooch of that type had "a dead spring". They all had faceted bows, though, sometimes but in an insignificant degree. At Stara Wieś, besides loose finds among which many late Roman materials occurred, brooches were found in grave no. 9. They were those with a foot turned under, of cross-bow type; the foot was fixed to the bow with a band-like plate not with a piece of wire. They were made of bronze.

Cross-bow brooches with a foot turned under and mostly with a faceted bow dominated in the cemeteries of the late Roman period assigned to group c. They were mostly of bronze. Other types accompanied them, but distinctly in lower number. At Brulino-Koski, out of 24 brooches which could be analysed exactly, owing to the good state of preservation, 19 belonged to the cross-bow type with a foot turned under, 2 — to the type made of one piece of wire with a foot turned under, 2 — to the type with a double foot and a double spring, and 1 — to the cross-bow type with a pin-catch and a knob on the head of the bow. Thus over 80 per cent of all well-preserved brooches belonged to those of the dominating type. It is worth while to emphasize that, besides two silver examples (specimens), one made of an undefined alloy light in colour, and one in a bad state of preservation, made of iron — the rest was of bronze. It is noteworthy that not a single brooch belonging to the dominating type was made of a material other than bronze; the brooches with double springs were of silver, the cross-bow brooch with a pincatch — of an alloy, the one with a foot turned under, widened at the end, with a spring of an unknown construction but, most probably, wrapped around the axis and with a lower string — was made of iron. A similar situation may be observed in the cemetery at Nur-Kolonia, where all brooches belonged to the "dominating type" and were made of bronze. In the cemetery at Sarnaki we found only one well-preserved brooch, but this too belonged to the dominating type; most probably remains of another bronze brooch, found there, also belonged to the same type. Only bronze brooches and mostly belonging to the type we discuss, together with specimens with a high pincatch, were discovered at Goździk, Garwolin district, both in barrows and in flat graves. In the cemetery at Kłoczewo, Ryki district, mostly bronze brooches were found but those representing the dominat-

ing type did not preponderate so much over the others, particularly over those of the cross-bow type with pincatches. In Warsaw-Kawęczyn cross-bow brooches with a foot turned under were not so numerous as in the east of the discussed territory; besides them cross-bow brooches with a pincatch and a knob on the head of the bow, as well as those with double or triple springs, occurred there. However, they are mostly of bronze and the iron ones are silver-plated. In the cemetery at Korzeń, Gostynin district, the variety of brooches was more abundant than at the above mentioned sites. A certain preponderance of iron brooches over bronze ones and a large proportion of those made of one piece of iron with a foot turned under is characteristic of that cemetery. An interesting typological division, corresponding strictly to that of the kind of raw material the brooches were made of, is noticeable there: all brooches of one piece of wire with a foot turned under were made of iron, the remaining ones, among which the cross-bow brooches with a foot turned under were most common — were made of bronze. In this respect the cemetery of Korzeń strongly differs from the rest of the Masovian cemeteries dating from the late Roman period. Judging from the brooches discovered, cemeteries of the early Roman period ceased to be in use at the end of the 2nd or at the beginning of the 3rd century. This date is determined, first of all, by iron brooches with a foot turned under and rhomboidally widened, further by brooches, contemporary to the latter, with a trumpet-shaped head and foot ending with a conical knob, by "eye-brooches" of late type, by brooches with combs on the bow, and finally by brooches of group II particularly those on fig. 41 and their variants. No other type of the latest brooches, represented in the early Roman cemeteries, was discovered in the cemeteries from the late Roman period which had not been used earlier, with the exception of, perhaps, a single iron brooch with a foot turned under and rhomboidally widened — which is, however, not so certain. That gives evidence of a temporary, not long-lasting, gap in occupation of the discussed territory, between the close of the older period and the formation of the group of cemeteries, dating from the late Roman period — or shows that in those times numerous groups of population, which their completely shaped material culture, different from the local one, must have arrived in Masovia. The latter hypothesis is confirmed by the presence of a number of cemeteries, dating from the early Roman period, with single burials dating from the late Roman period (Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Pajki, Szczytno, Hryniewiczze) or even with numerous burials of that time (Drohiczyn, Stara Wieś). It should be considered as an evidence of a process, the initial phase of which could have come about peacefully and not so intesively, and the groups of a new population bringing the material culture of a new, late



Roman type, may at the beginning have lived friendly with the local population. This hypothesis is also confirmed by the essential diversity of the culture of the late Roman period in Masovia, expressing themselves not only in new types of brooches, but in all main products, first of all, in pottery. The material culture represented by such cemeteries of the late Roman period as those at Brulino-Koski, Nur-Kolonia, Goździk and at Sarnaki, as well as by the single graves of the Roman period at Stara Wieś, Szczytno and Drohiczyn, does not show any connection with the older culture existing on that territory. The differences concern, in the same degree, the burial-rite reflecting both a determined ideology and determined social relations. The lack of connection with the older culture can be observed on the diagram of the occurrence of particular types of brooches in cemeteries of the three distinguished groups (fig. 1). The lack of brooches of older type (with one exception) in the younger cemeteries and, at the same time, the occurrence of late Roman elements of foreign type in older cemeteries being still in use, give evidence of the fact that the new culture was being adopted "by leaps", when the older one ceased to develop. What was the reason of that process—is another question. Before we try to give our explanation of that process, it is worth while to touch upon the problem of territorial differences in the spread of the late Roman culture of the Brulino-Koski type in Masovia. Judging from the materials discovered so far, that culture corresponds closely to the East-Pomeranian one, previously called the Gothic-Gepid-ian culture. It occurs, besides the above mentioned sites, situated chiefly in East Masovia and Podlasie, at other places in Masovia, as for instance at Mijaków, Płock district and at Podleś, Sierpc district. In West Masovia it is but slightly traceable. The comparison between the chief "components" of the cemeteries of the Brulino-Koski type and the material culture represented in the cemetery at Korzeń, Gostynin district, which is the only late Roman period cemetery completely excavated on the part of Masovia situated on the left Vistula bank, allows us to realize the most essential differences between the territory covered by the East Pomeranian culture and the territory on which the Przeworsk culture continued to develop. Our attention is drawn first of all to the great quantity of wheel-made pottery at Korzeń, whereas no such pottery was found in several cemeteries of the Brulino-Koski type, and only scanty remains of wheel-made pottery fragments were discovered at Sarnaki and Goździk. The considerable number of weapons (swords, spear heads and shield mountings) found at Korzeń, and, at the same time, a complete lack of same in cemeteries situated on the part of Masovia on the right Vistula bank is noteworthy. The presence of various iron implements (celts, a saw, a considerable number of knives) at Korzeń, and, at

the same time, the small number of such objects (but only knives) found in the cemeteries of the Brulino-Koski type, is also very interesting. Moreover, we found at Korzeń mountings for boxes and for wooden pails, completely unknown at sites of East Masovia. As to the types of pots, the differences are striking: goblets with hollowed feet, large urns, pots ornamented with finger-nail impressions, deep large bowls with wide or thickened rims and with the junction shoulder above the half of their height, slender high vases with a well-marked bottom, small flat bowls with a considerably concave bottom — they all represent types completely unknown in the cemeteries of East Masovia but very numerous at Korzeń. On the other hand, pots of small and medium size, flat bowls with a sharply marked junction shoulder, low the half of their height and other not very abundant varieties of vessels are characteristic of cemeteries of the Brulino-Koski type, but are very rare at Korzeń. Besides, the pottery from Korzeń is, in general, of better workmanship, well smoothed and fired, gray, bricky or brownish, whereas pots from East Masovia are badly fired and have, a rough, coarse and only rarely glossy surface. Besides the above mentioned differences in the types of brooches, it should be emphasized that certain ornaments, similar in both regions, as for instance pail-shaped pendants and analogous ones found at Korzeń, were always made of iron, whereas those from Brulino-Koski, Nur-Kolonia and Goździk, were of bronze. Certain kinds of metal pendants, such as a roundish one decorated with figures of swimming ducks and those in the shape of miniature axes were discovered only in the cemeteries at Brulino-Koski and Kleszewo. Finally, there were essential differences in the burial rite, as only cremation graves were discovered at Korzeń, whereas cremations and inhumations (the mixed burial rite) were observed in most cemeteries of the late Roman period in East and North Masovia.

This short comparison shows that extreme differences in the grave-furniture, in the rituals and in the general character of material culture can be observed in the cemeteries of the late Roman period in West and East Masovia. The West Masovian cemetery at Korzeń belongs entirely to the Przeworsk culture, bearing numerous features similar in all respects to those of the culture of the late Roman period in "Great Poland", Silesia and "Little Poland", whereas the newly discovered cemeteries in East Masovia belong to the East Pomeranian culture. This cultural appurtenance is shown in numerous, even small, details and in secondary features of particular objects, especially in pottery. This culture is also characterized by the abundance of amber ornaments and by the definite preponderance of bronze, used for making ornaments and utensils, so distinctly traceable in the cemeteries of the Brulino-Koski type.

The predominance of East Pomeranian culture in East Masovia in the late Roman period was probably due to the southward migration of the population from the region upon the lower Vistula. The route of that migration cannot be confined to some narrow strips of land along the Vistula and the Bug rivers. Judging from the spread of the cemeteries of East Pomeranian culture, it may be assumed that that population came to Masovia from Kujawy, from Dobrzyń Land and from the Mazurian Lake region, occupying probably the whole part of Masovia situated on the right Vistula bank, i.e. from the present districts of Sierpc and Płock to those of Płońsk, Mława, Ciechanów, Pułtusk and Ostrów Mazowiecka. The cemeteries in Warszawa-Kawęczyn, at Stara Wieś, Goździk and perhaps also at Kłoczew give evidence of the fact that that population crossed the whole length of the lower Bug river going southwards; although more numerous and, perhaps, better organized groups went south-eastwards, more or less along the right Bug bank. (the cemeteries at Kleszewo, Brulino-Koski, Nur-Kolonia), where settlement of the Przeworsk culture was rather scanty. We can trace the continuation of that route, (in the sense of space not of chronology), at several sites situated on both banks of the Bug, as for instance at Sarnaki, Łosice district, Kotorów-Werbkowie, Włodawa district<sup>28</sup>, Gródek Nadbużny, Hrubieszów district<sup>29</sup>, which in the light of the materials should be dated to the 3rd—4th, not the 6th century, as far as the region, situated on the left Bug bank, is concerned,—and further at Brześć-Triszyn<sup>30</sup> and at several sites in Volhynia<sup>31</sup>, with the well-known Ditinicz cemetery<sup>32</sup> on the eastern side of the Bug. Farther south-eastwards, the grave at Rudka in Podolia<sup>33</sup> and several others should be assigned to the same cultural circle. Particular sites on that route are differentiated from the chronological point of view. For example, the cemetery at Brześć Triszyn was undoubtedly established earlier than Masovian cemeteries of the Bruli-

<sup>28</sup> T. Liana, T. Piętka-Dąbrowska, Sprawozdanie z badań ratowniczych przeprowadzonych w 1959 r. na stanowisku I w Werbkowicach-Kotorowie, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXVIII (1963), no. 2, pp. 142—167; T. Piętka-Dąbrowska, „Inventaria Archaeologica”, fasc. V (1961), pl. 34.

<sup>29</sup> K. Kierzkowski, Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego w Gródku Nadbużnym, pow. Hrubieszów, „Sprawozdania Archeologiczne”, vol. III (1956), pp. 61—64.

<sup>30</sup> J. W. Kucharenko, Mogilnik Briest-Trišyn, „Kratkije Soobščeniija” no. 100 (1965), pp. 97—101.

<sup>31</sup> J. W. Kucharenko, op. cit. p. 101; idem, Wołyńska grupa polei pogrebenii, „Sowietskaja Archeologija”, no. 4 (1958), pp. 219—226.

<sup>32</sup> M. J. Smiszko, I. K. Swesznikow, Mogilnik III—IV stolit. n.e. u s. Ditinicz, rowenskoj oblasti, „Materiały i Doslidžennja z Archeologii Prikarpatja i Wołyni”, no. 3 (1961), pp. 89—113.

<sup>33</sup> E. Petersen, Ein reicher gepidischer Grabfund aus Wolhynien, „Gothis-kandza”, no. 3 (1941), pp. 39—52.

no-Koski type and, from the point of view of our classification, should be assigned to group b), i.e. to cemeteries used in the older and younger Roman period, although it is not possible to form, on the basis of the preliminary publication, an opinion on the shaping of the proportion of burials dating from the early Roman period to the later ones. It also seems that the cemetery at Ditinice did not last so long as those at Brulino-Koski, Kleszewo or Nur-Kolonia. That chronological differentiation may be regarded as an evidence that the migration of the East Pomeranian population was developing in a few, at least, in two phases. It started at the close of the older Roman period and developed, showing considerable intensity, in the late period. It also seems that, at least in Masovia, there was an interruption between the earlier and the later phases of that process, which was not continual. There were probably two waves of migration, the first of which was either less intensive or passed through that territory very quickly and left therefore comparatively slight traces. Among others, it should be emphasized that that phase did not probably cause any greater changes in the stable situation of the community of the local Przeworsk culture, did not disturb its general "settlement structure" and did not contribute to any modification of the general character of its material and spiritual culture. Only slight influences of that early East Pomeranian trend can be observed in the domain of the burial rite, (not numerous inhumations at Drohiczyn-Kozarówka, Hryniewicze and Osieck), and in the domain of metal parts of attire, by introducing, may be, into use "eye-brooches" of the East Prussian type. In pottery these influences are untraceable. Further research on this problem may bring about many important changes in our views in this matter, judging from the results of excavations carried out by J. Okulicz in the cemeteries with stone rings in North Masovia. Irrespective of our view on the hypotheses advanced recently, it may be stated that there can be distinguished two migration phases of the East Pomeranian population through Masovia and Podlasie, southwards. The identification of that migration with those of the Goths and the Gepids from their hypothetic settlements in East Pomerania to the Black Sea, migrations known from written sources, is not improbable, in spite of the fact that it is very difficult to ascertain by archaeological methods the unquestionable Gothic settlements upon the Vistula mouth and on the Black Sea shores where the presence of that people is confirmed by historical sources.

REPORTS ON EXCAVATION  
RAPPORTS DES FOUILLES

*Marian Kaczyński*

Warszawa

THE CEMETERIES DATING FROM THE ROMAN AND GREAT MIGRATION  
PERIODS IN THE AUGUSTÓW GREAT LAKES REGION

On the base of the former as well as of the most recent archaeological explorations I would like to present in this article problems connected with the Roman and Great Migration periods in the territory of the southern part of the Suwałki and Augustów Great Lakes Region, as well as some more interesting results of the excavation works, which started in 1962 and are still being continued in the cemetery dating from the period between the 3rd and the 7th centuries, at the village of Netta in the district of Augustów. From archaeological point of view, the explorations in the Augustów Great Lakes Region have been carried mostly unevenly. The northern part of the territory, and particularly the basin of the upper part of the Czarna Hańcza, owing to the 10-year activity of several archaeological expeditions, constitutes, at present, the best explored region of the north-eastern boundary of Poland, as far as the archaeology of the Roman and Great Migration periods is concerned<sup>1</sup>. Considerable scientific results, which constitute an essential base for the further widening of archaeological research have been achieved thanks to the focusing of the attention of almost all Polish archaeologists on one period and on a rather small territory. Nowadays, the relatively good knowledge of the history of the upper part of the Czarna Hańcza in the period between the 3rd and the 7th centuries results in an emerging necessity of a closer attention to be concentrated on the examinations of more perypheric territories of the Sudovian culture as well as of its borders with other cultures, namely with those of Prussian, Lithuanian and Slavic tribes. Such a widening of the explorations approached from this angle

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<sup>1</sup> J. Jaskanis, Z problematyki dotychczasowych badań archeologicznych nad Jaćwieżą w I tys. n. ery na obszarze górnego dorzecza Czarnej Hańczy, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. I (1964), pp. 49—63 and J. Antoniewicz, Zarys pradziejów powiatu suwalskiego, „Studia i materiały do dziejów Suwalszczyzny”, Białystok 1965, pp. 13—45 and the literature cited in these works.

is indispensable for both understanding and solution of a number of problems connected with the causes and mechanism of changes which had been taking place in the material as well as spiritual culture of the population inhabiting the region of Suwałki in ancient times. In the light of the permanently increasing interest taken in the Sudovian history, the above mentioned problems are of particular importance<sup>2</sup>. The excavation carried on by J. Jaskanis southwards the Biebrza river, and particularly those in the cemeteries with barrows of the so-called Rostołty type, are of capital importance for the exploration of the southern territories which were once inhabited by the Sudovian tribes and for the relations of the latter with the Slavic ethnical group taken as a whole<sup>3</sup>. The further development of the excavation works in the region will probably enable us to dissolve, in a near future, the problem of the cultural and — with a cooperation of other disciplines — ethnical belonging of those regions of the Białystok province.

A closer examination based on the excavation works in the southern part of the Suwałki and Augustów Great Lakes Region would be of the essential importance for the history of Sudovia which, so far, has been traced up on an only minimum scale. The lack of archaeological research in the region has been caused by a number of factors and, among them also, by the fact that the so-called Augustów Flat Country is covered with the dense massive of the Augustów Great forest, and in its southern part, by the Biebrza and the Netta basins. The tillable soil appears not earlier than westwards from the town of Augustów, and that was where the few, archaeological sites have been discovered. Excluding a few territorial investigations, as well as the descriptions by the 19th century amateurish archaeologists, the first excavation works in the region took place shortly before World War I. These explorations were carried on by S. Krukowski in the early-mediaeval cemetery at Jasudów, near Sopoćkinie, now included to the territory of the Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic<sup>4</sup>. No excavation works took place in the next dozens of years. Two cemeteries, dating from the Roman period at Judziki and at Bargłów Dworny, lying over a dozen of km. south-west-

<sup>2</sup> He have here in mind, first of all, two works of interest, which recently appeared — J. Nalepa, *Jaćwiegowie. Nazwa i lokalizacja*, Białystok 1964, pp. 5—53 and V. V. Siedov, *Kurgany jatwjagow*, „Sowietskaja Archeologia”, Moskwa 1964, vol. 4, pp. 36—51.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. J. Jaskanis, *Badania archeologiczne w woj. białostockim w latach 1945—1963*. „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. V (1965), pp. 114—118 and the cited literature.

<sup>4</sup> S. Krukowski, *Cmentarzysko mogił ciałoopalnych w Jasudowie pod Sopoćkiniami* (w pod. augustowskim, suwalskiej gub.), „Światowit”, vol. IX (1911), pp. 1—21.

wards from Augustów were explored by J. Marciniak not earlier than in 1937<sup>5</sup>. In 1939, several graves were discovered and preserved in the territory of the village of Netta which — together with the urns excavated by pupils of the local school in 1954 — were analysed in a publication by J. Okulicz<sup>6</sup>. As far as the northern part of the territory of interest for us is concerned the excavation works in two cemeteries dating from the 3rd—4th centuries — one at the village of Raczki, lying on the borders between the Augustów and Suwałki regions and the other at the village of Płociczno, the Suwałki district — were carried on by German archaeologists during the war period<sup>7</sup>. No archaeological works were carried on in the Augustów Great Lakes region till 1962, apart from the inventories taken at some sites; the whole exploratory effort have been concentrated on the examinations of the endangered barrow-cemeteries, in the northern region of the Suwałki territory. The author of this article have began the still being continued explorations in the Netta cemetery not earlier than in 1962 (Fig. 1).

Before the beginning of the exploration in the Netta cemetery, our whole knowledge of the Roman and Great Migration periods was based on the examination of the above mentioned archaeological sites. To give the complete picture we shall remember the discoveries made in those territories. The cemeteries at Judziki and Bargłów Dworny are the earliest dated ones. The beginnings of the existance of the cemetery at Judziki was assigned to the close of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century, and of that at Bargłów Dworny, to the first half of the 3rd century<sup>8</sup>. The cemetery at the village of Judziki, which lies about 20 km. south-west from Augustów have been probably completely explored. Only 16 graves were undamaged, formerly, however, — which is indicated by a considerable number of the objects deriving from its destroyed part, — the cemetery had been composed of several scores of graves. It was a cemetery with flat graves, in which exclusively the cremation burial had been observed. The cremation burial containing urns was a preponderant form of burials. Bones were deposited in an urn in as many as 14 burials, their general number being 18. From among the four remaining, three were the grave-pits with an

<sup>5</sup> J. Marciniak, Dwa cmentarzyska ciałopalne z okresu rzymskiego w Judzikach i Bargłowie Dwornym w pow. augustowskim, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XVII (1950/51), pp. 47—75.

<sup>6</sup> J. Okulicz, Cmentarzysko z III—V w. naszej ery z miejscowości Netta, pow. Augustów, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXII (1955), pp. 284—301.

<sup>7</sup> W. La Baume u. W. Gronau, Das Gräberfeld von Raczki, „Alt-Preussen”, vol. V (1941), pp. 59—61. W. Gronau, Ausgrabungen an der Grenze Ostpreussen, „Germanen Erbe”, vol. VII (1942), pp. 122—126.

<sup>8</sup> J. Marciniak, o.c., pp. 74—75.

assembling of bones in each, with no remains of funeral pyre, and one — also a grave-pit — containing the remains of the funeral pyre. The urns were placed most often in the grave-pits containing no remains of the funeral pyre, and only three of them were put into the grave-pits containing no traces of the remains of the funeral pyre. The grave-pits

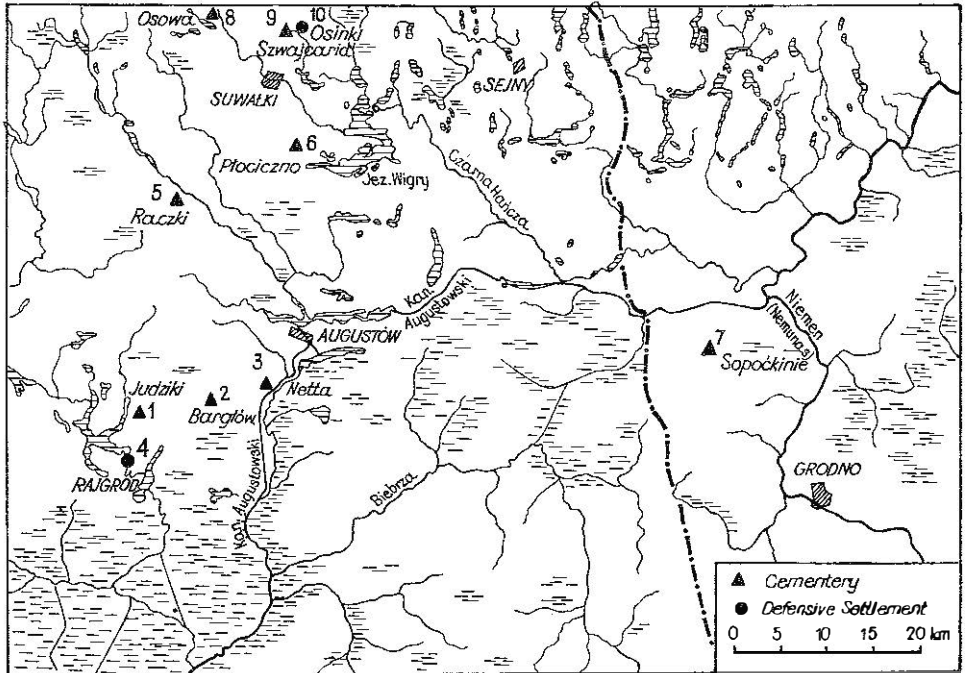


Fig. 1. Map of the archaeological sites examined in the Augustów Great Lakes region.

were either oval or round in shape in their horizontal plan, and were situated shallowly. Their upper outlines occurred 20—40 cm. under the soil surface. The urns were covered with tureens. This custom was later observed in the barrows dating from the 5th—7th centuries, in the region of Suwałki<sup>9</sup>. Two of them were double-graves: in one grave-pit an urn was discovered besides the assembling of bones, and in the second one — two urns. A considerable number of graves contained no grave-furniture; and those remaining, were only modestly furnished. The grave-goods were placed either in or out of the urns. They most often consisted of knives buckles, iron hatchets, spurs and small bronze ornaments. The most showy of them and in the same time the most precisely dating

<sup>9</sup> Comp. M. Kaczyński, Cmentarzysko kurhanowe z V—VI wieku w miejscowości Bilwinowo pow. Suwałki, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. II (1961), p. 258.



the archaeological sites, as for instance the eye-brooches, have been unfortunately found dispersed in the destroyed part of the cemetery. This fact results in the difficulty of a precise assignment of the date of the utilisation of the cemetery. It seems, however, that this cemetery had been created at the close of the early Roman period, and was in usage at least during the whole 3rd century, the evidence of which is given by the brooches, forms of spurs as well as of other metal and pottery objects and particularly by the pottery with multi-hole ears; so typical of the Masurian archaeological sites of the period; some of the objects found here were typical for the 3rd—4th centuries.

The cemetery at Bargłów Dworny, which lies about 8 km. eastwards from Judziki, has been most probably explored only on a minimum-scale<sup>10</sup>. Contrarily to the above described cemetery, on the total number of 7 graves, discovered in this cemetery, only one was a cremation grave, with no remains of the funeral pyre. The others were the grave-pits with the remains of the funeral pyre, but one of them contained an additional burial in the urn, besides the bone-assembling, and another one contained two separate bone-assemblings. Similarly to those at Judziki, the graves were situated shallowly, 20- 25 cm beneath the soil surface, their outlines being oval ones. One double grave No. 4 containing a bone assembling and the urn covered with a tureen was distinctive among the poorly-furnished graves. A iron hatchet was found in the grave, while two wrist-bracelets, a horse-shoe-shaped bronze brooch adorned with incrustations of red enamel, as well as four glass beads were discovered in its urn. Among the other graves, grave-pit No. 7 containing remains of the funeral pyre and furnished with a tree-comb-shaped brooch is worth our attention<sup>11</sup>. The mentioned remains permit the cemetery to be assigned, to the first half of the 3rd century. W. Gronau, a German archaeologist, explored the cemeteries at Raczki and at Płociczno, in the period of 1940—1941<sup>12</sup>. The burial ground at Raczki, the village situated about 25 km. northwards from Bargłów Dworny and at Judziki was destroyed by the later cemetery, dating from the 16th—18th centuries. 16 graves and 5 pits, the latter of an unclear function were examined here. The pits contained the obvious remains of fire ashes, as well as lumps of charcoal. The outlines of four of them were circular in shape, and those of the fifth one—rectangular. The dimensions of one from among circular ones were published by W. Gronau: its diameter was 70 cm. its depth — 10 cm. Three circular spots occurred around it, which, according to the explorer, constituted the traces of the

<sup>10</sup> J. Marciniak, o.c., p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, tabl. XXII, 6.

<sup>12</sup> W. La Baume u. W. Gronau, o.c. and W. Gronau, o.c.

poles. A pottery-cover with carved ornaments was found in this grave-pit. The rectangular grave-pit contained fractions of pottery, its dimensions being  $70 \times 50$  cm. No object were found in the remaining grave-pits. The author's opinion was that those grave-pits might derive from a settlement established in an earlier period than the cemetery, and — on the basis of the loosely scattered flint splits — he even suggested the epoch of neolith in this respect. Some of the graves were only partially damaged, but even these, well-preserved were given only a poor description, lacking information on their dimensions, shape, orientation and so on. With regard to the nine burials we have an information that they were inhumation graves with assemblings of bones and remains of funeral pyres, one of them being circular in shape. Only one was a cremation-grave containing an urn, and the remaining ones probably had the form of bone-assemblings with no remains of funeral pyre. A horse grave with an ill-preserved skeleton was discovered below one of the partially destroyed graves; it had the form of a bone-assembling<sup>13</sup>.

The majority of graves contained no grave-furniture (nine); two graves were more rich. The following objects were discovered in female grave No. 1: a horse-shoe-shaped brooch adorned with inlays of red enamel, two wrist bracelets with ornaments, a fragment of a necklace made of bronze wire, a necklace with fourteen bronze trinkets, incrustated with silver plates, and five glass beads containing a gold insertion each, an iron buckle and a bronze needle<sup>14</sup>. This grave was of the form of a bone-assembling located at the edge of the grave-pit containing burnt and partially destroyed. Male grave No. 6 constituted a bone — assembling within the setting of two stones. The grave-goods of the deceased were the following: a spear-head, an axe, a knife, a tinder box an iron ending of a leather strap and a small clay vessel. The poor grave-furniture of other graves consisted of such objects as a bronze spur, a bronze pin, spear-heads, an axe and fragments of the burnt bronze ornaments. The metal relics indicated that the cemetery at Raczkki should be assigned to the 3rd—4th centuries, but — in the light of the recent discoveries in the region of Suwałki — somewhat earlier date of its construction ought, however, to be taken into consideration, as some of the found objects, for instance a spur or the forms of pottery with ears, might be dated to the close of the 2nd and the turn of the 3rd century<sup>15</sup>. An inserted

<sup>13</sup> Examples of a similar location of a horse-burial, below human burial are cited by J. Jaskanis in his work „Human Burials with Horses in Prussia and Sudovia in the first Millennium of our era” in this volume of „Acta Baltico-Slavica”.

<sup>14</sup> W. La Baume and W. Gronau, o.c., illustr. 1, a—f.

<sup>15</sup> J. Antoniewicz, Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w latach 1958—1960 na cmentarzysku w miejscowości Szwałcaria pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXIX (1963), vol. 4, pp. 189—190, illustr. 12.

clay covering, decorated with a carved ornament presenting a pair of grazing tarpanis as well as a symbolical image of sun can be assigned to the early Roman period. This lid was discovered in one of the pits containing no bones, what does not constitute however evidence that this was not a grave, because in the case of a strong fire the bones could have been so strongly burnt through, that the discovery of their remains among the rests of the funeral pyre could result only from a very close observation<sup>16</sup>. The custom of decorating the pottery with carved ornaments and particularly with zoomorphic ones disappeared in the late Roman period. The cemetery at Płociczno, the village situated in the southern part of the district of Suwałki, has been only partially examined<sup>17</sup>. A double inhumation grave with very rich grave-goods was discovered under the stone-pavement, of an oval shape. The following objects were found close to the ill-preserved bones: a silver necklace with a clasp of a spoon-like form, two wrist bracelets, identical with those found at Raczki, two brooches of a cross-bow shape fixed the one to the other with a chain, an eight-part, bronze ornament of a belt, inlaid with silver plates, ornamented with small rings (not published so far) and two Roman coins, of which one—that of Gordianus—had been well preserved. Two cremation graves, probably with no funeral-pyre remains, and one with a stone-setting were found in the vicinity of an inhumation grave<sup>18</sup>. Two spear-heads, an iron awl and a small clay vessel were found in these graves. The inhumation as well as cremation graves are dated to the 3rd—4th centuries. Lack of a more closer description of the discovered graves as well as of their furniture, unable a closer characterisation of the cemetery to be made. The supplementary examinations of the excavation works would be desirable for a more precise tracing of this interesting archaeological site.

The cemetery at Netta, situated 6 km. eastwards from the above mentioned cemetery at Bargłów Dworny was the last archaeological site of interest to us, explored in this region. 10 graves containing together 21 burials were discovered on the 1 are of land both during their conservation and examination in 1939, and later an accidental discovery of a collective grave in 1954. Unfortunately, one part of the material of historical importance, the almost complete territorial documentation, both descriptive and in drawings, were lost during the war. On the base of the analyse of the preserved materials, J. Okulicz characterized the cemetery as consisting of flat graves, with no stone-settings round the

<sup>16</sup> W. Gronau, o.c., illustr. 4. Comp. M. Kaczyński, *Cmentarzysko kurhanowe...*, o.c., pp. 260—261.

<sup>17</sup> W. Gronau, o.c., p. 124.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, illustr. 8.

graves, with a preponderance of cremation burials with urns over the assemblings of bones which had been put into the earth with no remains of the funeral pyre<sup>19</sup>. The collective-graves consisting of 2—6 burials occurred besides the individual ones. Pots and often tureens played the role of urns. The grave-goods consisted of small clay pots, spindle whorls, amber beads such metal ornaments as necklaces, brooches, pendants. There was, however, a complete lack of weapons and iron implements among them. The author ascribed the cemetery to the 3rd—5th centuries, reckoning it to the Sudovian culture, as all those described above. The assignment of some cremation graves with urns to the 5th century was based on the similarity of forms of their pottery with those discovered in the cemeteries consisting of barrows, dating from the 5th—6th centuries, in the territory of the region of Suwałki as well as in the Węgorzewo-Goldap group. The author of this article has also drawn the attention to the similarity of pottery forms in this territory, dating from the 5th—6th centuries. Further examinations, however, carried in the region of Suwałki as well as those which have been made at Netta have changed considerably his opinion in this respect<sup>20</sup>. 143 graves together with those (10) which had been discovered earlier have been discovered on the 18 ares of land, examined during the excavation works which have been started at Netta in 1962. This figure is manifold of the total sum of graves which have been examined in all cemeteries of the region so far explored. Taking into consideration that the explored area was destroyed in, at least, 30 per cent, one should assume that the former number of graves was proportionally greater. This cemetery, explored already by J. Okulicz, covers a fairly vast and not very high wooden elevation, lying on the left side of the road between Netta and Białobrzegi<sup>21</sup>.

The explorations included the south-eastern as well as central part of the elevation. Judging from the localization of the graves one may assume that the central part of the cemetery has been already explored, and that the excavation works have reached its southern and eastern borders. The greatest density of flat graves occurred in the south-eastern part, where the number of graves amounted to over twenty on one are (fig. No. 2). The present excavation works at Netta have provided the materials which basically change the opinion formed on the basis of the discoveries at Netta, carried in 1939, as well as of those from other archaeological sites of the region. For instance, we were formerly of the opinion that we have been dealing exclusively with flat graves, with irregular horizontal outlines of the pits. They were situated shallowly,

<sup>19</sup> J. Okulicz, o.c., pp. 285, 289.

<sup>20</sup> M. Kaczyński, *Dwa cmentarzyska...*, o.c., p. 150.

<sup>21</sup> J. Okulicz, o.c., illustr. 1.

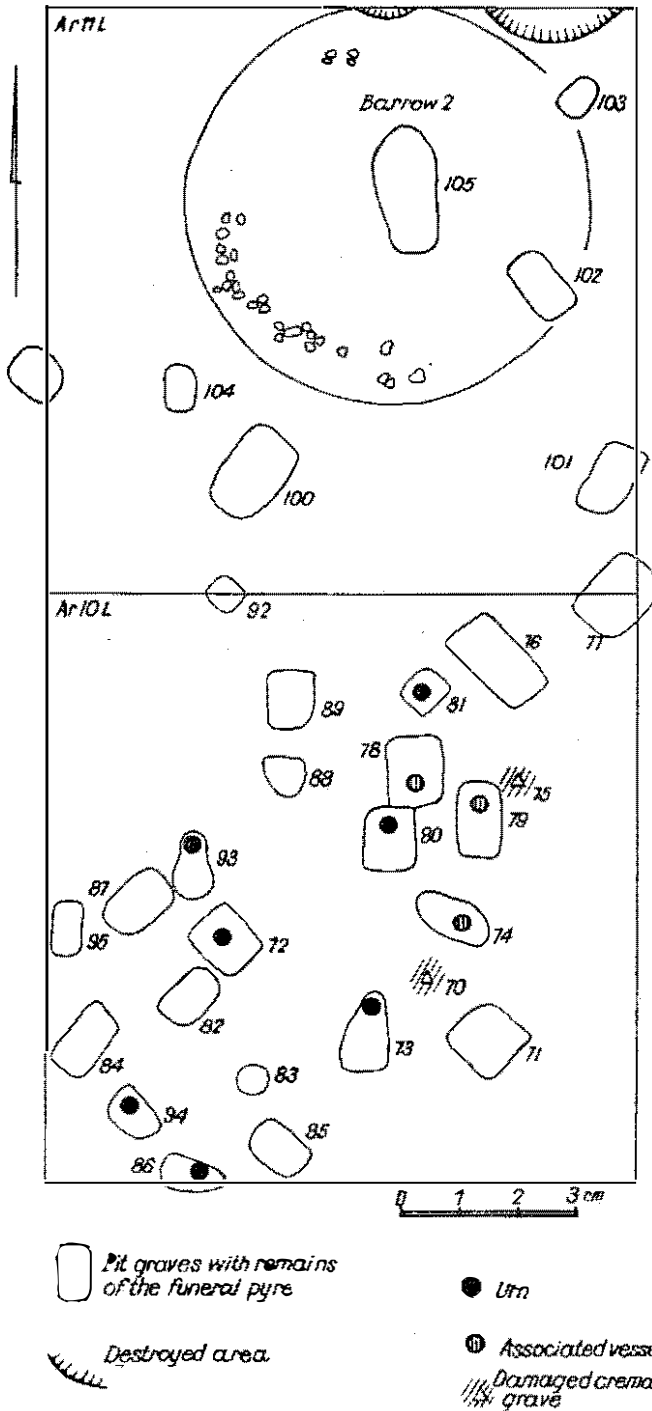


Fig. 2. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Orientation plan of graves on areas 10 L and 11 L.

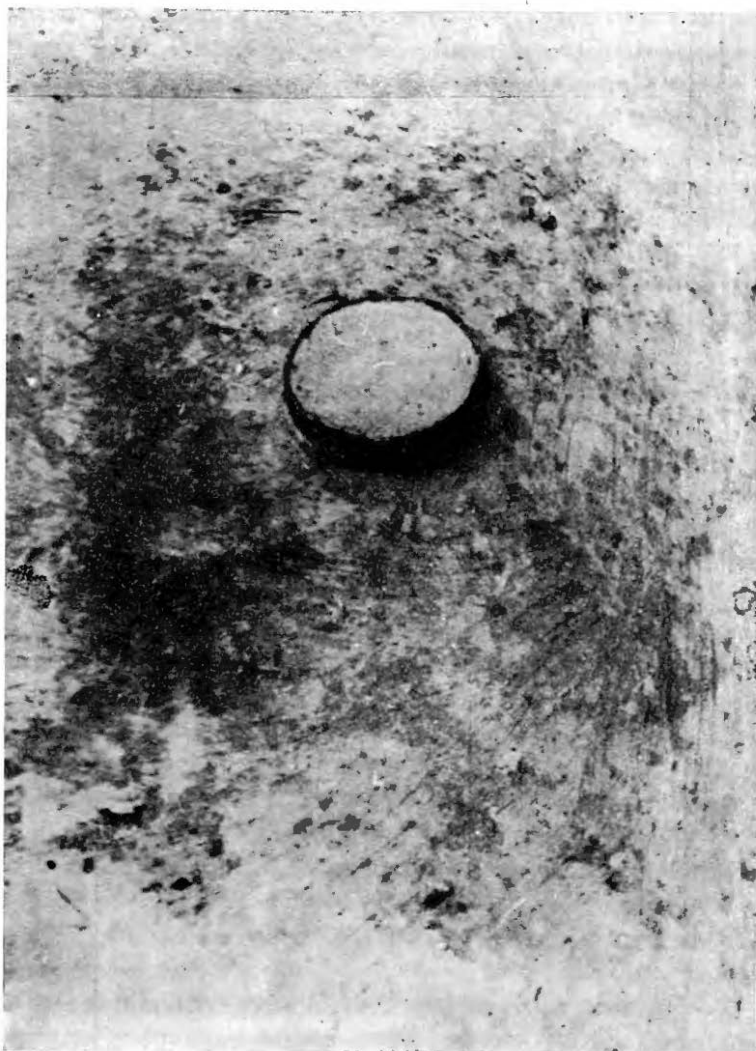


Fig. 3. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 10 K. Grave 21 — of the pit-type, containing the remains of the funeral pyre and the urn.

similarly to those at Bargłów and Judziki. When the 10—20 cm. — thick humus had been taken out, the culture-bearing layer appeared, namely a light-gray sand containing numerous pieces of charcoal. This layer revealed the first traces of graves: more intensive spots of burnt, small bones and pottery fragments. After the removal of this mixed layer, a light-yellow, sandy layer appeared (barren sub-soil), at the depth of 30—40 cm. from the surface. Fairly distinctive outlines of grave-pits were visible against this background. The degree of their legibility

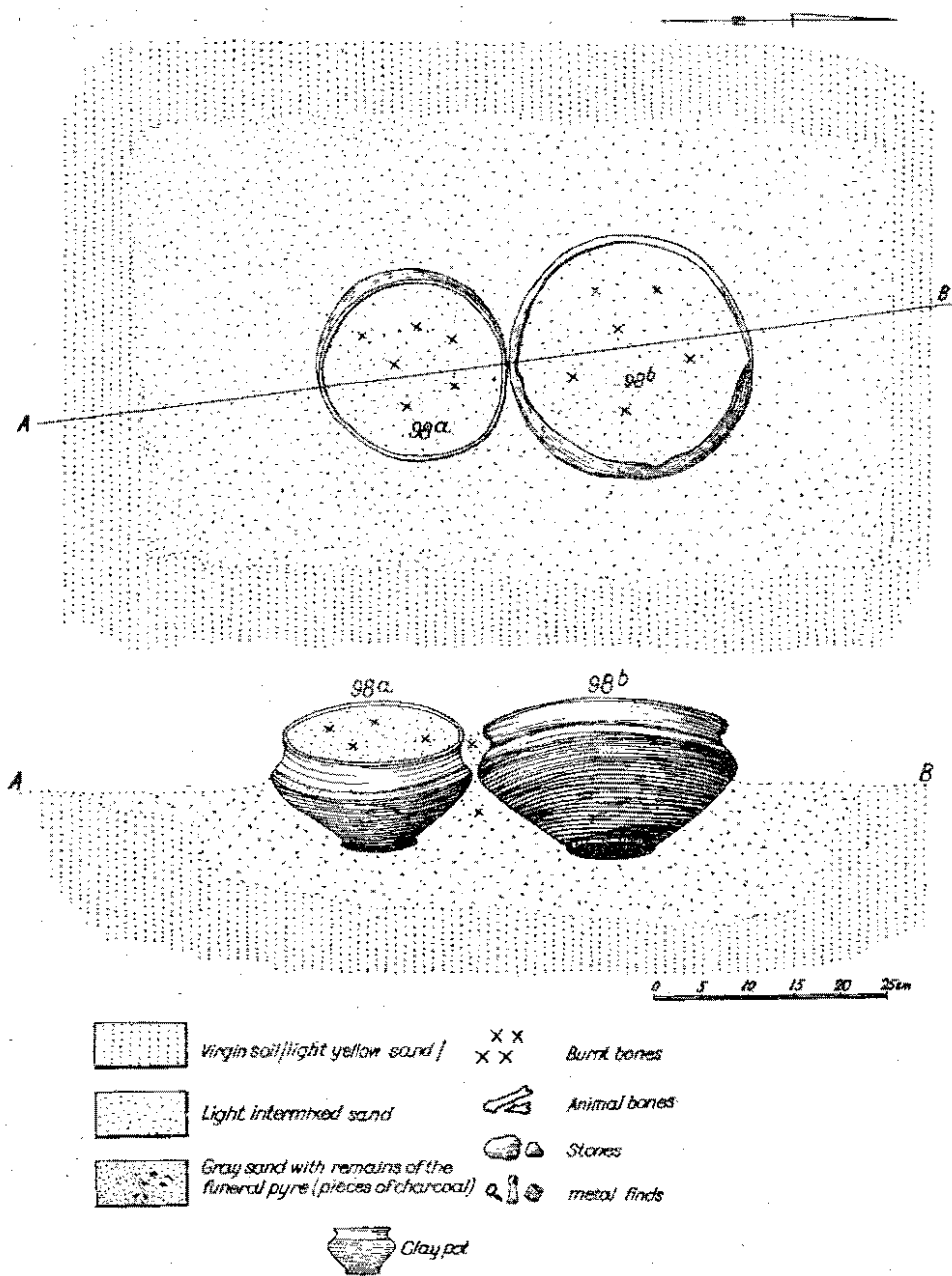


Fig. 4. Netta, Augustów District. The Cemetery. Are 9 L. Plan as well as a horizontal and vertical projection of grave no. 98, a, b — two urn in the grave-pit, with no remains of funeral pyre.

depended mainly from the quantity of the remains of their funeral pyres. The so far carried explorations have given undoubtful evidences that the grave-pit of a rectangular, or almost rectangular shape of its outlines constituted a dominant form of graves at Netta (fig. No. 3). The graves containing considerable numbers of the remains of funeral pyres were of an almost ideally rectangular shape (fig. No. 4). The rectangular shape of grave-pits occurred in the whole cemetery, and probably during the whole period of its utilisation, i.e. from the close of the 3rd till the end of the 7th century. The observations of the shape of the grave-pits at Netta indicate that those made at Bargłów and Judziki should be approached with a reserve. It is not excluded that a considerable amount of gravel in the soil hampered closer observations resulting in the statements that the grave-pits were of oval or circular shape<sup>22</sup>. Some of graves, mostly those containing urns, had not been dug into the barren sub-soil. Their shallow location, just under the humus, resulted in their later destruction which, in turn, made impossible their closer examination. The graves assigned to the end of the 3rd and to the 4th century were prevailing in the south-eastern part of the cemetery. The dimensions of their grave-pits oscillated between 1.5×1 m. and 0.6×0.4 m. No distinct principle has been noted with regard to their orientation according to the four cardinal points. Numerous graves were oriented northwards with their longer axis, however, deviations both westwards and eastwards were quite often (fig. No. 2). The grave-pits contained ashes as well as smaller or greater quantities of charcoal pieces. Some grave-pits have been also discovered with bones dispersed all over the grave, generally, however, they occurred at the bottom of the grave-pit in a compact and rather small assembling. It has been noted in both inhumation and cremation graves, that similarly as at Judziki a custom was observed to assemble the bone remains similarly to the anatomical structure, and that special care had been taken the skull-bones to be put on the top<sup>23</sup>. The objects constituting the grave-goods had been generally put on the skull fragments (fig. No. 5). The bones selected from the funeral pyre had been sometimes put into the urns, which, in turn, were placed in the grave-pit containing the funeral pyre remains; however a double grave occurred more often — the grave-pit with burnts contained two burials; one of a form of bone-assembling and the other a cremation burial with urn. On the base of the grave-furniture, one can assume that male bones had been put directly to the grave-pit, while the female ones — to the accompanying urn. This observation requires, of course, to be confirmed by the results of an

<sup>22</sup> Compare with the published plans of the cemetery in the cited work by J. Marciniak.

<sup>23</sup> Comp. J. Marciniak, o.c., p. 48 ff.



anthropological analysis. Some of the double graves can be assigned to the 6th century (Plate No. I).

Several collective graves, dating from the Great Migration period, have been discovered at the southern border of the cemetery. Two, three and even four urns have been discovered in the rectangular grave-pits containing no funeral-pyre (graves Nos.: 91, 98, 99). Singular and double



Fig. 5. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 10 L. Grave No. 98 — of pit-type, containing the remains of the funeral pyre. Metal relics lie on the scull-bones; close to it — a small pottery.

cremation graves with urns in pits containing no remains of funeral pyre occurred also in the western as well as northern part of the cemetery. The several-stone settings placed at the longer side in the bottom of the pit were discovered in a few graves (fig. No. 6). We assume that some graves might had been marked on their surface with stones. The singular stones or their rather small assemblings, have been sometimes discovered directly under the humus layer, and seem to give the evidence to this respect. No stone-pavements have been found, however, above the graves. The lack of space renders impossible a description of even the most interesting grave-groups. The assertion of the decisive preponderance of the rectangular inhumation grave containing the remains of the funeral pyre and its combination with cremation burial was a revelation similar to the striking problem of the grave-furniture. Though we find here exclusively the cremation burial, the majority of graves contained numerous objects,

and some of them were particularly richly furnished. Various ornaments have been found in female graves: necklaces made of both bronze and silver wire, necklaces of metal plates as well as glass beads, bronze bracelets, bronze and iron brooches, rings, buckles and the like. The tools have been found rather seldom. They usually were the following:

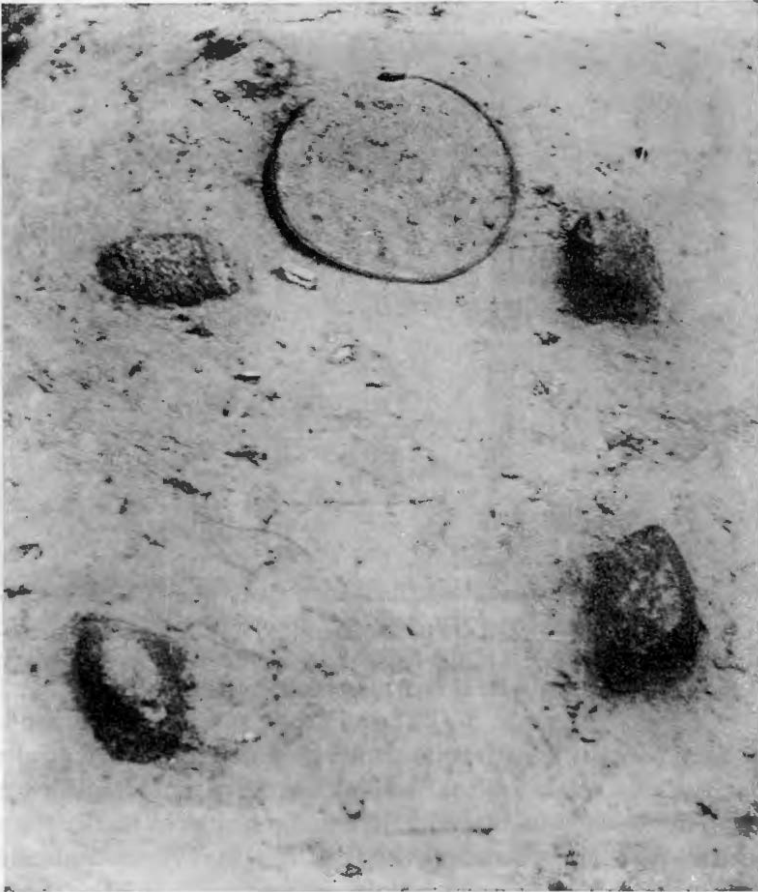


Fig. 6. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 12 F. Grave no 121 — of pit-type, containing an urn within a seeting of four stones.

spindle whorls, awls, knives, needles. Male graves contained weapons and such implements as spears or lance-heads, axes, adzes, knives of different seize, and parts of the horse harness: spurs, bucles, iron and bronze ornaments, and first of all brooches. Burials dating from the 3rd—4th centuries have been more richly furnished. A number of graves dating from the Great Migration period contained, however, objects permitting

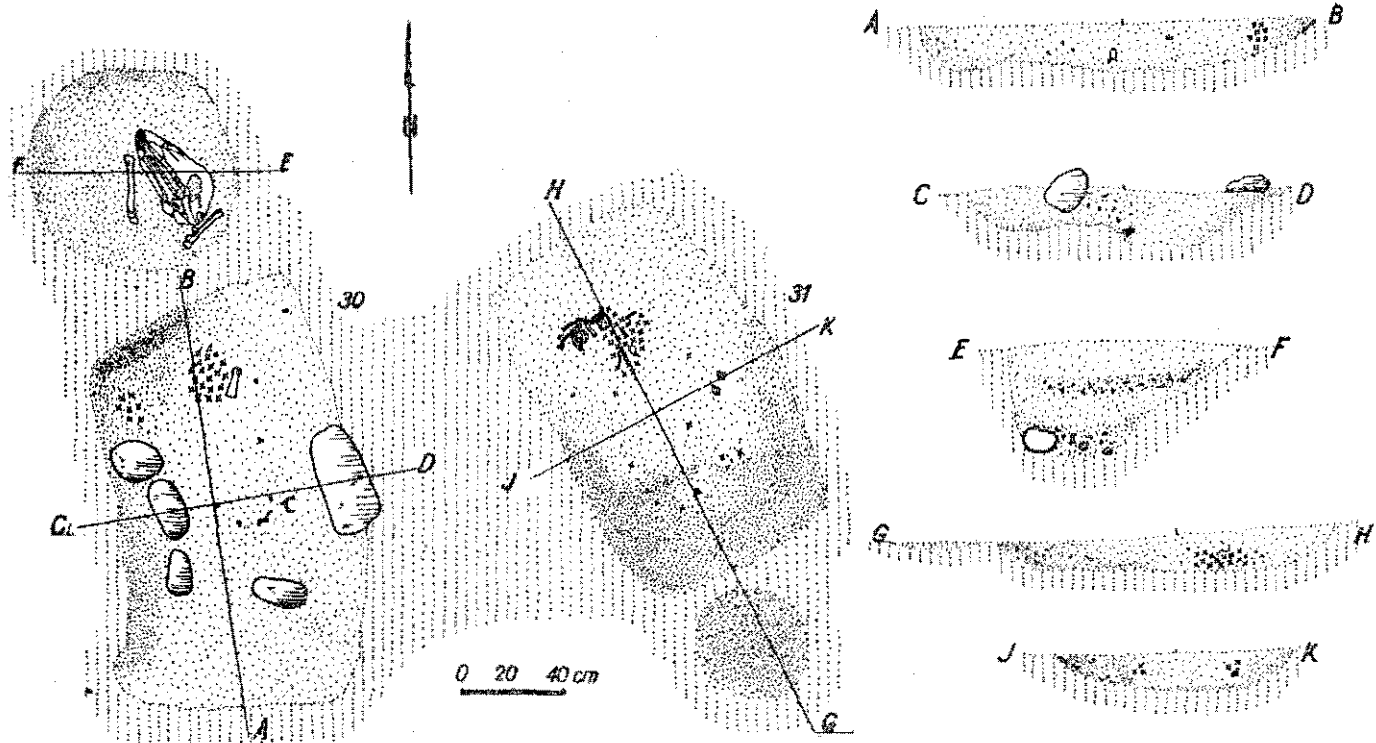


Fig. 7. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 10. K. Plan both horizontal and vertical projections of grave No. 30 together with the horse-grave and grave No. 31

their closer assignment. They consisted most often of ornaments, but weapons also occurred, constituting, however, a fairly rare phenomenon in the barrow cemetery of the period, in the region of Suwałki<sup>24</sup>. This fact is of the utmost importance for the assignment of particular graves as well as for a more precised dating of pottery of the period, so far only weekly examined. The grave-group consisting of two, big, rectangular grave-pits containing remains of the funeral pyres and situated parallelly and close to one the other belong to the more interesting graves, dating from the 3rd—4th centuries, being worth a special attention. A rather small grave-pit, adjacent to male grave No. 30, on the northern side of the latter, contained scull-bones and fragments of fore legs of a horse, lying at the depth of 0.4 m. (fig. No. 7). No other objects were found by the horse bones. And iron axe and spur and fragments of ill-preserved iron works were found among the dispersed bones in a male grave bearing traces of a robbery. (fig. No. 8). Female grave No. 31, was unusually richly furnished. The following objects were found at the top of a rather small bone assembling, discovered at the bottom of the grave-pit: two, wide wrist bracelets, a deformed by the fire necklace made of bronze wire, an other necklace consisting of both bronze pendants and glass beads, two identical bronze brooches ornamented with silver wire, an iron belt-clasp, a belt-ironwork, a bronze plaque and an iron awl. (fig. No. 9). These relics permit the whole grave-group to be assigned to the 4th century. The male grave had a stone-setting, and was marked on the surface with stones, what resulted in its robbery. These graves as well as the other, richly furnished grave-groups, dating from the 4th century, give an evidence of the similar social divisions of the local populations as those asserted in the cemetery at Szwałcaria, in the Suwałki district<sup>25</sup>.

The finds deriving from other graves of the period also point out numerous links with the Lithuanian territories<sup>26</sup>. This fact reaffirms

<sup>24</sup> This remark refers to cemeteries dating from the late Great Migration Period, which are of the type of those occurring at Prudziszki and Bilwinowo. Objects connected with weapons generally are not found in them, and the decisive majority of graves lack any furnishing with objects. In the earlier period the situation is some-what different; In cremation grave-pits a rich weapon-furniture sometimes occur. Comp. for instance a rich grave, dating from the 5th cent. in the cemetery at Szwałcaria. J. Antoniewicz, *Badania kurhanów z okresu rzymskiego dokonane w 1957 r. w miejscowości Szwałcaria pow. Suwałki*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXVII (1961), pp. 16—19. Comp., too, the remarks on grave-furniture from the same period, in the work by J. Jaskanis, *Z problematyki badań...*, o.c., pp. 56—57.

<sup>25</sup> J. Antoniewicz, *Wyniki dotychczasowych badań starożytnego osadnictwa jaćwieskiego w dorzeczu Czarnej Hańczy*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXV (1958), pp. 10—15.

<sup>26</sup> Comp. D. Jaskanis, *Jaćwież. Katalog*. Białystok 1962, p. 27; W. Ziem-

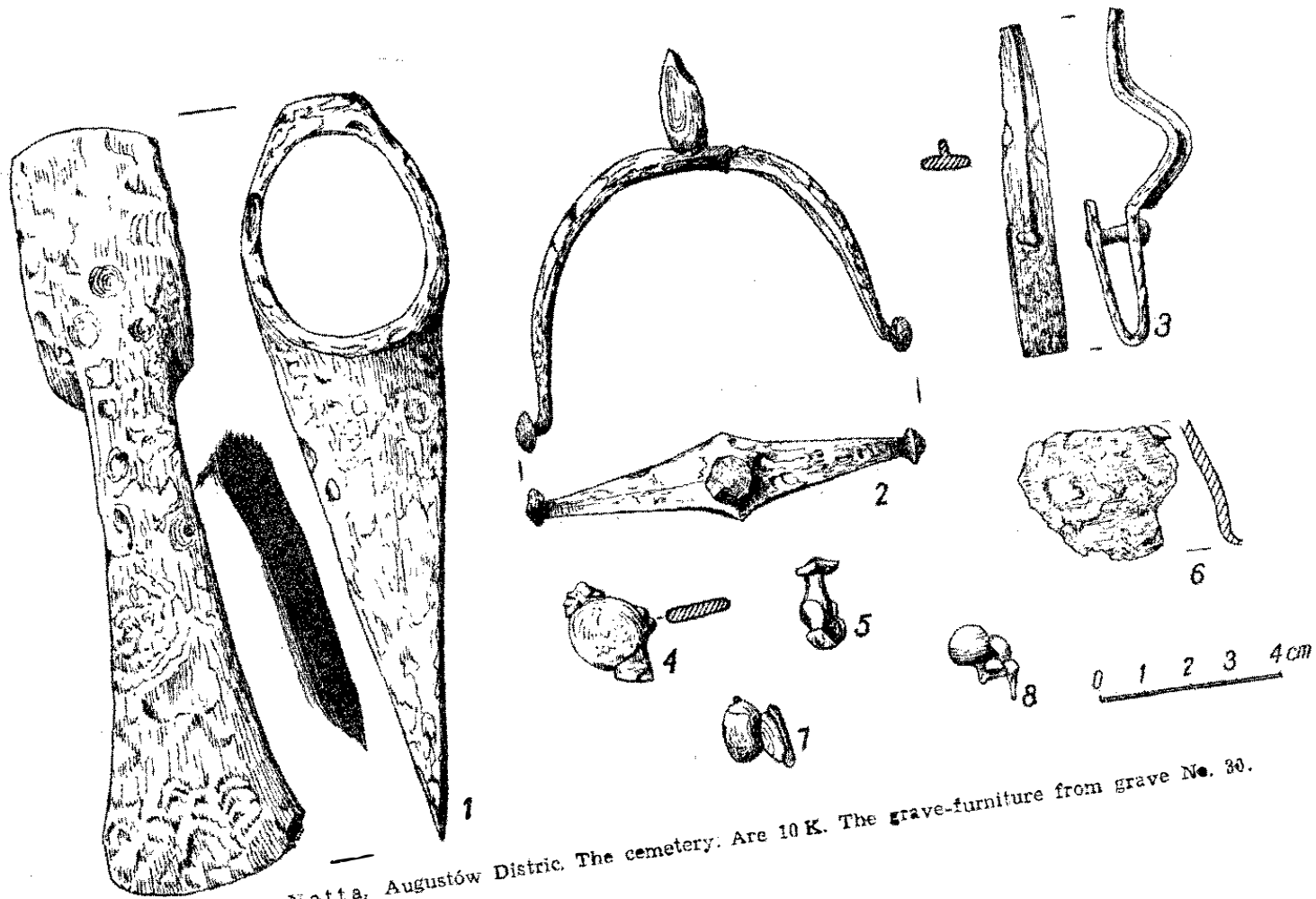


Fig. 8. Netta, Augustów Distric. The cemetery: Are 10 K. The grave-furniture from grave No. 30.

the heretofore opinions with regard to the integration of both western and eastern influences in the territory of the Sudovian culture (fig. No. 10). It seems that the eastern ones were fairly strong, particularly in the 3rd—4th centuries<sup>27</sup>. Those links with Lithuania are revealed, first of



Fig. 10. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 10 K. Grave No. 26 — of pit-type, containing the remains of the funeral pyre as well as bones placed in the urn.

all, by metal ornaments such as bronze pendants, wrist-bracelets, necklaces with spoon-shaped clasps (Netta, grave 26, Płociczno), horse-shoe-shaped brooches incrustated with red enamel (Netta — grave 81, Raczki, Bargłów)<sup>28</sup>. The relics deriving from two richly furnished graves Nos. 78 and 79, ascribed to the 4th century have, too, numerous analogies in Lithuania (fig. No. 5 and 11).

lińska-Odojowa, Badania wykopaliskowe w 1959 r. na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejsc. Żywa Woda, pow. Suwałki, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. I (1961), tab. IX; R. Kulikauskienė, R. Rimantiene, Senoves Lietuvių Papuošalai, vol. I, Vilnius 1958; P. Kulikauskas, R. Kulikauskienė, A. Tautavičius, Lietuvos archeologijos bruožai. Vilnius 1961, illustr. 164, 177 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Comp. J. Okulicz, o.c., p. 299. M. Kaczyński, Dwa cmentarzyska..., o.c., p. 150.

<sup>28</sup> Compare numerous published women adornments from the above cited Lithuanian works, as well as in that by M. Kaczyński, Materiały z cmenta-

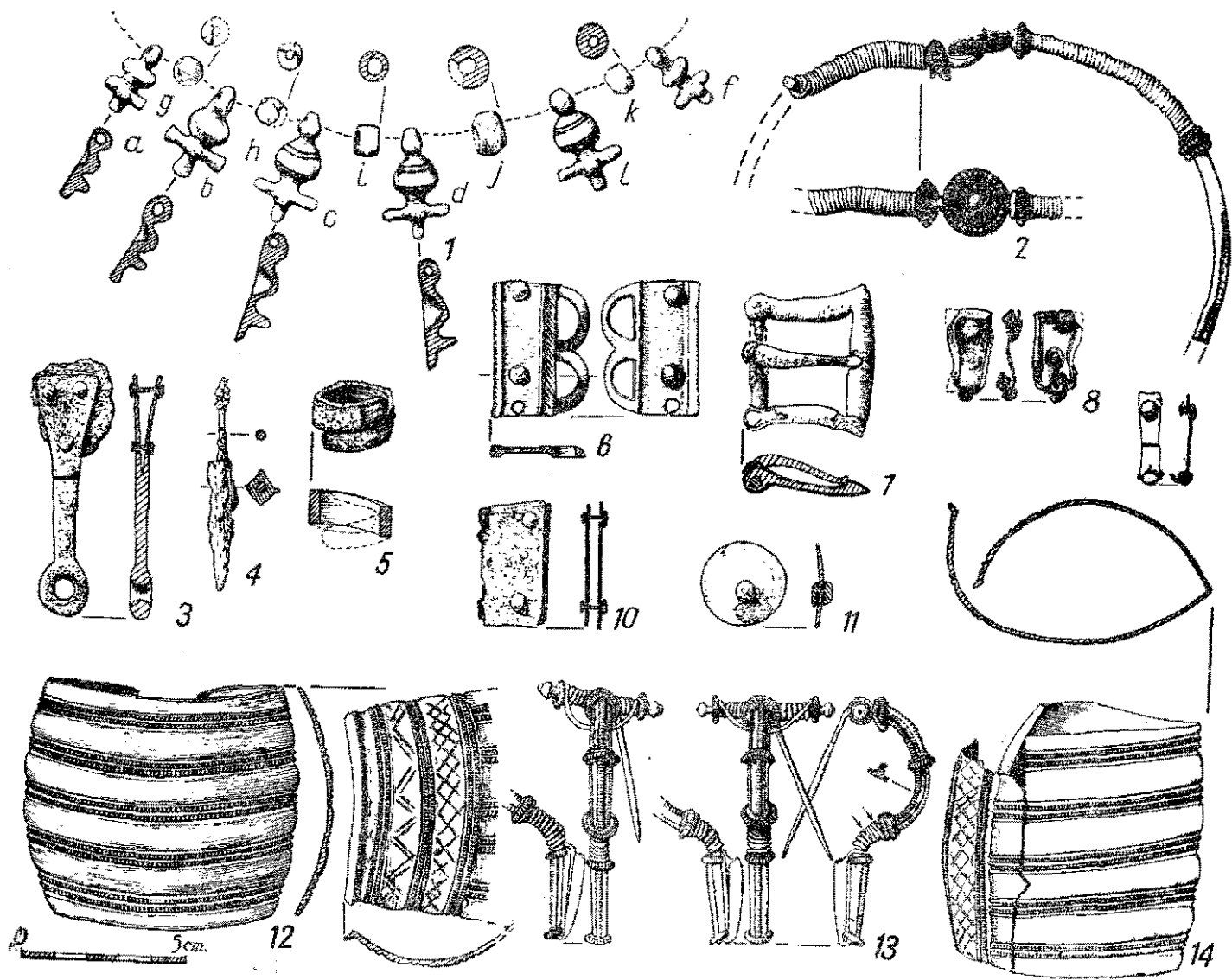


Fig. 9. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 10 K. The grave-furniture from grave No. 31.

The discovery of four barrows with stone-coverings, which were invisible at the surface, was the next revelation of archaeological explorations at Netta. These stone-coverings surrounded the explored part of the



Fig. 11. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 10 L. Grave No. 79. Of pit-type, containing the remains of funeral pyre and stone setting.

cemetery with the flat graves from northern-east, north and west. Flat graves with grave-pits containing remains of funeral pyres and grave-pits with urns with no remains of funeral pyres occurred among the barrows.

rzyska kurhanowego badanego w 1934 r. w miejscowości Mieżany pow. Święciany, na Wileńszczyźnie (LSRR), „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XXIX (1963), pp. 119—136.



These graves date from the Great Migration period. It has been assumed, heretofore, that the Augustów Great Lakes Region completely lacked barrows with stone-coverings<sup>29</sup>. It became obvious, however, that in the cemetery, consisting of flat graves, at Netta, barrows similar to those from the region of Suwałki, though still few in number began to appear at the beginning of the Great Migration period. Despite the fact, that the barrows discovered at Netta had stone-coverings much destroyed,



Fig. 12. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 12 K. A fragment of a stone-covering of barrow No. 1.

it can be stated that they were not different from those dating from the 5th—6th centuries and known from the cemeteries lying in the basin of the upper Czarna Hańcza, as far as their construction, the appearance and dimensions were concerned<sup>30</sup>. The all barrows were surrounded with a fragmentily preserved ring of rather big stones (Fig. No. 12). The dimensions of the barrow could be evaluated on the basis of these fragments. The diameter of all four barrows was that of about 7 m. The former height of the barrows could not be evaluated because of a bed state of the stone-coverings. They were, undoubtedly low, and flat; the

<sup>29</sup> J. Jaskanis, *Z problematyki badań...*, o.c., p. 51.

<sup>30</sup> Barrows of this type are known to us from the cemeteries at Osowa, Szurpiły, Wołownia, Bilwinowo, Prudziszki, Suchodoły, Korkliny, Szeszupka, Nieszki, Krzywólka and at other localities in the Suwałki district. Compare the literature on the subject recently presented by J. Jaskanis, *Badania archeologiczne...*, o.c., p. 100 ff.

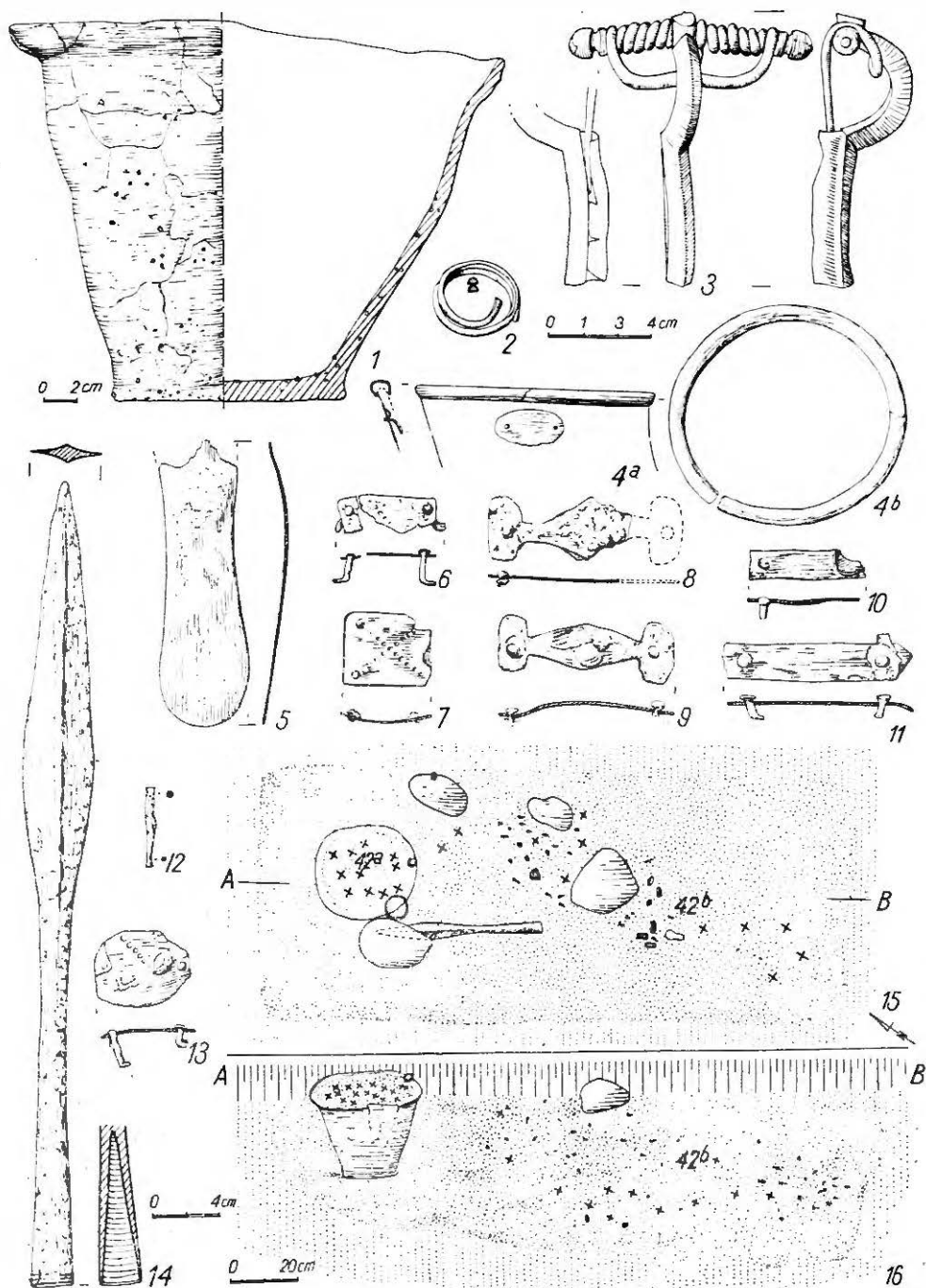
stones were arranged in one or two layers. Three barrows contained only one grave each, located in the centre of the barrow. Barrow No. 2 had been probably, the earliest one. It contained one, centrally located grave-pit with remains of a funeral pyre, its dimension being  $0.9 \times 2$  m. The disturbances observed within the grave-pit, namely the dispersed bones, the unusual position of the iron pin as well as lack of any objects made from non-ferrous metals proved that the grave must have been plundered in ancient times. The centrally located graves in other barrows bore, too, the obvious traces of a plunder. This resulted in a possibility of further comparison with barrows in the region of Suwałki, in which traces of plunders have been discovered many times<sup>31</sup>. The grave-pits located centrally in other barrows contained no remains of funeral pyres, their large size referred to cremation graves, dating from the early phase of the Great Migration period, and discovered at Sz wajcaria<sup>32</sup>. The dimensions of the grave-pit in barrow No. 3 were  $0.95 \times 1.35$  m. and of that in barrow No. 4 —  $1.30 \times 2.30$  m. The assemblings of broken clay vessels occurred at the edges of the stone-coverings at the foot of barrows Nos. 3 and 4. This custom has been registered in the cemeteries, dating from the 5th—6th centuries, in the region of Suwałki<sup>33</sup>. A spear-head and a big knife have been also found by barrow No. 3. It is not excluded that these relics derived from the plundered central grave, in which a smaller iron knife as well as a silver coin of *Marcus Aurelius* also were found.

The most interesting material was that discovered in barrow No. 1. Five cremation graves, containing urns, have been discovered within the stone-covering of the barrow, apart from a big, grave-pit, containing no remains of the funeral pyre, and located close to the centre of the barrow. They were partially damaged either by plunder diggings or by the later setting into them of three urns. Two grave-pits containing a considerable amount of remains of the funeral pyre were located at the south-eastern edge of the barrow. The metal ornaments which had been put into them were almost completely smelted in fire, thus because of lack of objects permitting their assignment it would be difficult to decide whether they should be assigned to the same period as the barrow. A spear-head, ritually bent, and two iron buckles, one of them kidney-shaped and ornamented with diagonal furrows have been found among the bones scattered in the central grave, the southern part of which was partially damaged by diggings. An analogous to the above mentioned,

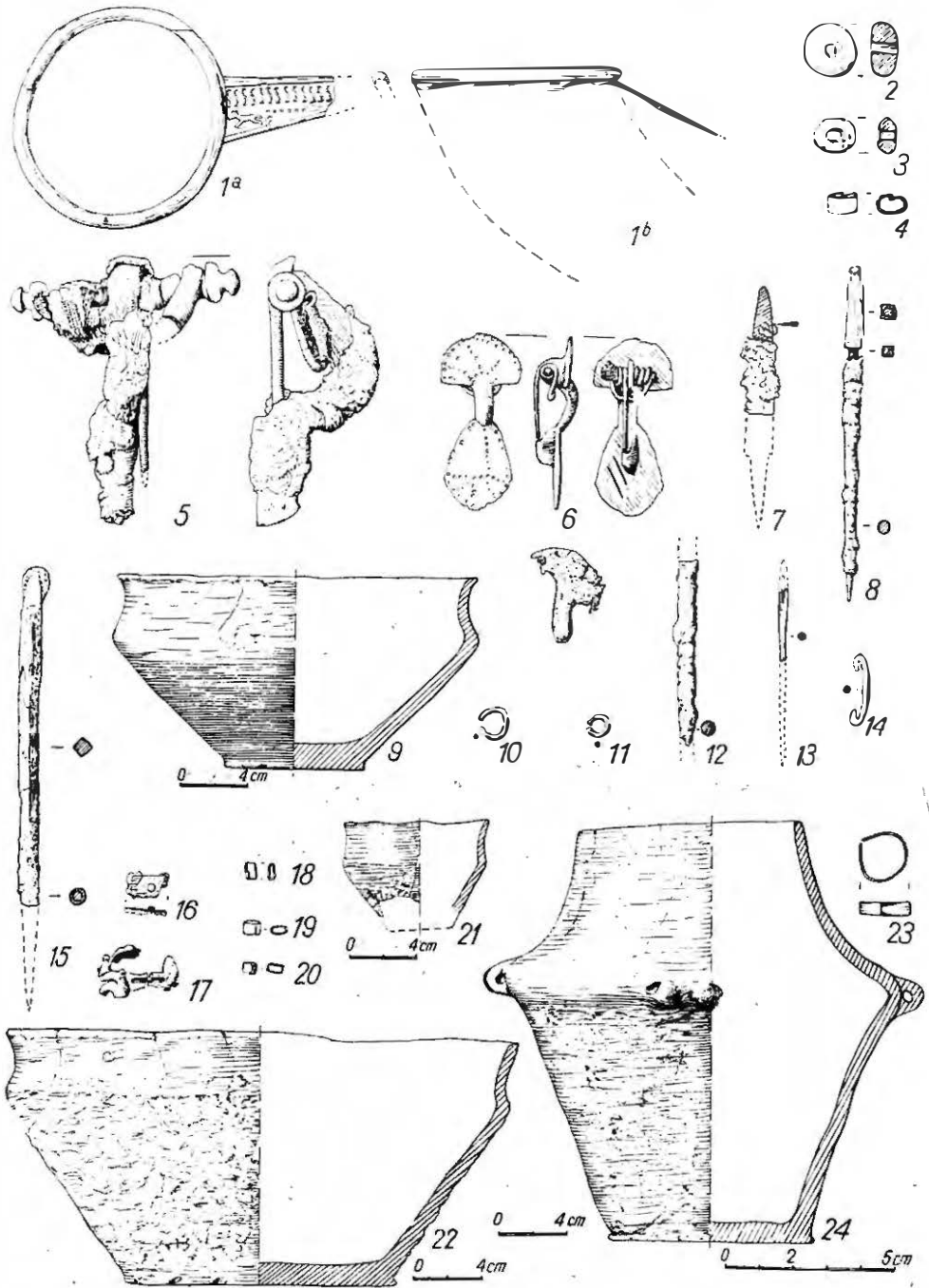
<sup>31</sup> J. Jaskanis, Z problematyki badań..., o.c., p. 54.

<sup>32</sup> M. Kaczyński, O badaniach kurhanów Suwalszczyzny, „Z otchłani wieków”, vol. XXIV (1958), vol. 4, p. 241.

<sup>33</sup> M. Kaczyński, Cmentarzysko kurhanowe..., o.c., pp. 257—258.



Netta, Augustów District The cemetery. Are 11 K. Grave No. 42 — of pit-type, containing the remains of the funeral pyre (b) and an urn (a). 1--3 and vertical from grave No. 42 o, 4--14 from grave No. 42 b, 15--16 — plan and a horizontal projection of grave No. 42, a, b.



Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 12 K. Barrow No. 1. The furniture of graves with urns 56—58. 1—14 from grave No. 57 15—22 from grave No. 58, 23—24 from grave No. 56.

but smaller buckle has been found lying loosely among the stones of the stone-covering. (Fig. No. 13) Three urns, located close to the others, have been discovered in the northern part of the grave-pit and, near



Fig. 13. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 12 K. Barrow No. 1. Urns Nos. 56, 57 and 58, placed in the southern part of the central grave-pit.

them, a number of relics with, among the others, a showy iron-work of a stove-angle made of bronze plate and of thin silver plate. It probably originated from the Roman Empire. (Plate No. II, 1) Among other objects, a bronze brooch with a flat, semicircular head, a short bow and an oval,

flat feet is particularly worth notice. (Plate No. II, 6) No precise analogy to it is known to us. The brooch, dating from the Great Migration period, which has been found in the cemetery at Czerwony Dwór, in the district of Gołdap, was also of a similar shape<sup>34</sup>. The similar brooches, originating from the "Goths" phibula were considered as degenerated in forms, and were known still in the 7th century<sup>35</sup>. In the light of the above-mentioned opinions, burials from barrow No. 1, and particularly the urns



Fig. 14. Netta, Augustów District. The cemetery. Are 10 K. Grave No. 22 — of pit-type, containing the remains of funeral pyre. Sestersius of Faustina (The Elder)

discovered in the central grave might be assigned to the close of the 6th and the turn of the 7th, or even to the 7th century. Such an assignment would be in concordance with that of kidney-shaped buckles, occurring in the Baltic territories in the period between the 5th and the 8th centuries<sup>36</sup>.

The find of two coins emphasizes the rich grave-furniture, discovered at Netta. A strongly obliterated and not well legible silver coin of *Marcus Aurelius* has been discovered in the plundered grave, in barrow No. 3. The second coin — a bronze, posthumous sesterce of *Faustina I* (fig. No. 14), have been discovered among the rich grave-goods in the grave

<sup>34</sup> W. Gaerte, *Urgeschichte Ostpreussens*, Königsberg 1929, p. 282, illustr. 223 c.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 275. N. Åberg, *Ostpreussen in der Völkerwanderungszeit*, Uppsala 1919, pp. 90—92.

<sup>36</sup> P. Kulikauskas, R. Kulikauskiene, A. Tautavičius, *o.c.*, p. 350, illustr. 256.

No. 22 and assigned to the 3rd—4th centuries. Animal bones, namely teeth of a ship or of a goat have been found in the above mentioned grave, besides some bronze and iron objects. In both cases a long period of the utilisation of the coins draws attention. Contrarily to the western areas of the Sudovian territory, coins, so far, constitute a great rarity among the finds deriving from the Augustów Great Lakes Region<sup>37</sup>. As far as the region of Suwałki is concerned, coins have been found only in the barrow-cemetery at Korkliny<sup>38</sup> and in a double-inhumation grave at Płociczno, in the district of Suwałki. In such a situation the discovery of two Roman coins at Netta is of special importance.

The exploration of the whole cemetery at Netta will provide materials interesting from the point of view of a demographic analysis. Even an introductory observation of the horse remains permits to state that burials of two, three or even more people in one clay vessel occurred in some cremation graves, being not excluded that in grave-pits, too. This fact has been confirmed by the anthropological research, carried on at other archaeological sites of the period, among the others, at Wołownia, in the district of Suwałki<sup>39</sup>. The already being started analysis of the horse remains deriving from Netta will be of considerable importance for the further archaeological examinations, among them for those of the burial rite, and particularly of the problem of the so-called anatomical order in the graves containing urns<sup>40</sup>.

Several scores of well preserved clay vessel serving as urns and having forms of pots and tureens, small clay vessels of different dimensions, as well as pottery fragments discovered at the edges of the barrows or scattered loosely in the culture-bearing layer, have been provided owing to the explorations carried on at Netta. The metal relics constituted indications enabling the majority of pottery to be assigned. They are

<sup>37</sup> A. Kamiński, *Materiały do bibliografii archeologicznej Jaćwieży od I do XIII w.*, „Materiały Starożytne”, vol. I (1956), pp. 193—272.

<sup>38</sup> A coin left by Commodus has been found at Korkliny. Kind information of J. Jaskanis. W. Gronau, o.c., p. 124.

<sup>39</sup> M. Kaczyński, *Cmentarzysko z V—VI wieku we wsi Wołownia, pow. Suwałki*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. VI (1965) as well as the anthropological elaboration, — enclosed with this volume — by T. Dzierżykraj-Rogański and E. Promińska, *Szczałki kostne z cmentarzyska ciałopalnego z V—VI wieku n.e. we wsi Wołownia pow. Suwałki*.

<sup>40</sup> Works on the subject, carried out by A. Wiercińska from the anthropological workshop in the Archaeological Museum in Warsaw covered a series of 8 urns brought as a whole from excavation sites. The preliminary remarks seem to confirm the thesis on the assembling of bones in the anatomical order, but a certain answer will be given by the statistical analysis as well as the examinations of further burials. Conclusions resulting from the examination of urns containing the remains of more than one person will be of special interest.

of the utmost importance for the examination of the pottery of the period which, heretofore, has been carried on a narrow scale. Pottery occurs rarely in barrows containing inhumation burials, and dating from the 3rd—4th centuries in the region of Suwałki, as well as in that of Lithuania. It usually appears outside the grave-group. However, the barrows, dating from the 5th—7th centuries, from which a great number of clay vessels have been excavated, usually lacked objects permitting their proper assignment to be made<sup>41</sup>. A poor knowledge of the eastern regions, still recently remaining under the influence of the Sudovian culture has not permitted any comparison among the pottery deriving from different territories to be made. Nowadays, the existence of regional differences in pottery, which occurs in the cemeteries dating particularly from the Great Migration period, can be stated with a certain stress.

A comparison between the pottery discovered in the barrows in the region of Suwałki and in those at Netta, in both cases assigned to the 5th—6th centuries, makes these differences explicit. The two-conical pottery with a high placed convexity curve, a type so typical for the Great Migration period in the region of Suwałki, does not occur at Netta<sup>42</sup>. The sharply profilated tureens, which at Netta have been assigned to an earlier period, and had been occurring as early as in the 4th century, revealed however a certain similarity. It seems that the majority of pottery forms from Netta had closer relations with the western parts of the territory belonging to the Sudovian culture, particularly with the Węgorzewo and Gołdap districts, as well as with the between-river basin of the Rospuda and the Marycha, than with the region of Suwałki. This problem requires a more precise examination to be made. Such an examination will probably correct our working point of view on the matter.

The materials shortly mentioned above permit to state that the southern part of the Suwałki and Augustów Great Lakes Region, in the period between the 2nd and the 7th centuries, constituted a separate group of the Sudovian culture which has been ascribed by almost all explorers to the ancestors of the early-mediaeval Sudovians. This group characterizes itself by the cemeteries dating from the 2nd—the 7th centuries, and consisting of cremation burials (heretofore, the inhumation-

<sup>41</sup> In spite of the fact that the author agrees with V. V. Siedov, that the top-limit of the duration-period of these barrows is not very precise, their dating cannot be switched, however, over the 7th century, because the pottery found in them is not very diverse with regard to forms and technics of its making, being dated with few metals at the most for the middle of the 7th century. Compare V. V. Siedov, *o.c.*, p. 47 and the supplement 64.

<sup>42</sup> Comp. M. Kaczyński, *Cmentarzysko kurhanowe z V—VI wieku w miejsc. Bilwinowo...*, *o.c.*, tabl.: VI, 5b7b, VII, 2, 3b, XI, 5, XII, 1, 4.



tion grave in the most northwards located cemetery at Płociczno constitutes the only exception in this respect). In the period between the 2nd and the 4th centuries the dead had been buried exclusively in the flat cemeteries. The sporadic barrows similar to those in the Suwałki territory have begun to appear in 5th C in the still existing flat cemetery at Netta. Two basic burial forms, namely the grave-pit with remains of the funeral pyre and its combination with cremation burial as well as graves with urns, containing no remains of funeral pyre, the latter ones being often placed in pits dug in the barren sub-soil, have been occurring during the whole period under examination. Grave-pits at Netta, dating from the 3rd—6th centuries were rectangular in shape. As far as forms of the burial rite and of pottery in the cemeteries of this group are concerned, they revealed numerous links with western territories of the Sudovian as well as of the Galindian culture. This has been stressed by the forms of the pottery deriving from Bargłów and Judziki, dating from the 2nd—3rd centuries and typical for the Masovian territories. The metal relics, and particularly ornaments dating from the 3rd—4th centuries, revealed numerous links with the region of Suwałki and with the Lithuanian territory. In the period between the 4th and the 6th centuries, particularly in the basin of the upper Czarna Hańcza; this group was characteristic because of different forms of pottery as well as because of grave-pits containing remains of funeral pyres, which often occurred in flat cemeteries, finally because of the grave-furniture which reflected a probably better economical situation of local people than that of their closest northern neighbours had been. The better economical situation of the Netta inhabitants resulted from the fertility of soil, from the close southern borders of Slavic and Sudovian territories, as well as from the existence of the track running from the south, along the Narew, the Biebrza and the Łęg westwards, towards Galindia and northwards towards Sambia and Livonia<sup>43</sup>.

The conception that Sudovian culture had been divided into regional groups, which was suggested by the archaeological records referring to the 2nd—7th centuries, has been supported by the observations made not only by archaeologists but by scientists specialized in other branches of science, too. J. Nalepa, convincingly proves in his interesting study, concerning both the name and the location of the Sudovian people, that the territory ascribed to the early-mediaeval Sudovians was once inhabited by at least, several mutually related but differently called tribes. On the map, enclosed with the study, he attempts to reconstruct — on the basis of linguistic and archaeological records — the settlements of

<sup>43</sup> A. Kamiński, *Jaćwierz*, Łódź 1953, map. 1.

four tribes, the names of which have been so far indented with the Sudovians in a vast territorial understanding of this definition.<sup>44</sup> He locates the settlement of the Sudovian tribe in the basin of the upper part of the Szeszupa. The Dainova tribe — eastwards from Sejny, among the Merez, the Niemen (Neman) and the Szeszupa, the tribe of the proper Sudovians — in the basin of the upper part of the Czarna Hańcza, finally, the Pollexian tribe — northwards from the Biebrza and westwards from Augustów in the Ełk basin. It remains an open question whether those tribes once inhabited in the above mentioned territories, or a more vast territory belonged to them, or, finally, whether still other tribes of the Sudovian culture, not known by their names did not live in this area, besides the four above mentioned. The political alliances, temporarily created by those tribes, under the hegemony of one of them (once one, once the other) explain, according to the author, the discordance appearing in the ethnical names referring to the territory of the 13th century Sudovia<sup>45</sup>. This is according to the hypothesis advanced by J. N a l e p a about the existence of tribes mutually related from the linguistic and cultural point of view, in the territory between the Great Masurian Lakes Region and the Niemen (Neman). Those tribes certainly possessed a number of distinguishing them features, which a precise study of the archaeological records should also reveal. The further course of the explorations will probably confirm, at least partially, the above made suggestions.

On the basis of the heretofore archaeological research in the region of Suwałki and in that of the Augustów Great Lakes, as well as on the basis of studies carried on by German archaeologists in the districts of Węgorzewo, Gołdap, Olecko, Pisz and Ełk, we have a relatively good picture of the culture of the inhabitants of those territories, identified with the early-mediaeval Sudovians from the one side, and with the Ptolomy's "Sudinoi" from the other, can be already reconstructed<sup>46</sup>.

Our knowledge of the neighbouring territories, and particularly of those lying southwards from the Biebrza, is still very poor. Lacking suitable record-basis we consider the opinions on both ethnical and cultural belonging of the territories lying below the Biebrza, as precocious. These territories appear in the records as an area of a different cultural picture than that which has been stated northwards from the Biebrza. It is not excluded, however, that it constituted a boundary with a mixed culture, with integration of different influences and migrations of different peoples, including, undoubtedly, the Baltic and Slavic tribes,

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<sup>44</sup> J. N a l e p a, o.c., pp. 49—51 and map.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, p. 51.

<sup>46</sup> A. K a m i ń s k i, *Materiały...*, o.c., p. 198.

and probably Goths, too<sup>47</sup>". Thus we cannot agree with the analysis by V. V. Siedov, who attempts to substantiate by archaeological evidences the thesis on the Sudovian tribes settled down in the vast territories, in the period of the first millennium of our era<sup>48</sup>. Maybe an attempt should be made to trace up the settlements of the Sudovians in more vast territories, in the so far weekly explored period, preceding the 3rd century of our era.

The important changes which had been taking place between the 2nd and the 7th centuries in the whole territory between the Bug and the Niemen (Neman), in the husbandry, culture, social relations, as well as in the both political and ethnical structure, resulted at the close of the Great Migration period in the cristallization of cultural relations, more or less similar to those of the Sudovian tribes in early Middle Ages<sup>49</sup>.

However, for a complete reconstruction of the whole process, the above mentioned extension of archaeological examinations is indispensable from both territorial and chronological point of view.

*Warsaw, November 1965*

<sup>47</sup> Comp. J. Jaskanis, *Badania archeologiczne...*, o.c., pp. 114—118.

<sup>48</sup> V. V. Siedov, o.c., as well as the review of this work by M. Kaczyński, given to printing in the „Rocznik Białostocki”.

<sup>49</sup> Compare J. Jaskanis, *Badania archeologiczne...*, o.c., p. 113, as well as the discussion at the First Conference of Historical Sciences at Białystok, in 1961. The statements by J. Okulicz M. Kaczyński, published in vol. I „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. I, (1964), pp. 99—100 and 106.

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SUDAUISCHES SIEDLUNGSKOMPLEX AUS DER SPÄTRÖMISCHEN  
PERIODE UND VÖLKERWANDERUNGSZEIT IN OSOWA,  
KREIS SUWAŁKI

I. Während der letzten einigen zehn Jahre galt das Interesse der polnischen Archäologen, Mediävisten und Philologen, welche die Geschichte baltischer Völker im Altertum und frühen Mittelalter erforschen, hauptsächlich den nordöstlichen Grenzgebieten Polens<sup>1</sup>. Erwähnungen von Chronisten, historische Forschungen und frühere archäologische Arbeiten wiesen darauf, dass sich in diesen Gegenden ehemals Siedlungen eines westbaltischen Volkes — der Sudauer — befanden. Es wurde dort mit Erfolg ein Siedlungskomplex aus dem I. Jahrtausend u.Z. erforscht; dieses Komplex befand sich in der Gegend von Suwałki, im Zwischengebiet des oberen und mittleren Laufes der Flüsse Rospuda (im Westen) und Marycha (im Osten)<sup>2</sup>. Der Hauptfluss dieses Gebietes, das etwa 250 km<sup>2</sup> umfasst, ist die Czarna Hańcza, deren Name in den neuesten philologischen und historischen Arbeiten ziemlich überzeugend als Stammwort in der Etymologie des originalen Namens der Sudauer — eines Stammes, der in schriftlichen Quellen des frühen Mittelalters bezeugt ist — dargestellt wird<sup>3</sup>.

Das in dieser Gegend befindliche und untersuchte Siedlungskomplex aus der späten Römischen Periode und der Völkerwanderungszeit (II—III.Jh.u.Z. bis VII.Jh u.Z. einschliesslich) kann also mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit als ein sudauisches betrachtet werden, was die Möglichkeit einer Erforschung des historischen Entwicklungsprozesses dieses Stammes chronologisch bedeutend rückwärts schiebt.

<sup>1</sup> J. Antoniewicz, *Polskie badania archeologiczne nad Baltami w okresie powojennym (1945—1957)*, „Rocznik Olsztyński” Bd. I, Olsztyn 1958, S. 294—317; J. Jaskanis, *Badania archeologiczne w województwie białostockim w latach 1945—1963*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, Bd. V, Białystok 1964, S. 97—126.

<sup>2</sup> J. Jaskanis, *Badania archeologiczne...*, o.c.; S. 108—113; J. Antoniewicz, *The Sudovians*, Białystok 1962.

<sup>3</sup> J. Nalepa, *Jaćwiegowie*, Białystok 1964.

Unter den in der oben bezeichneten Gegend untersuchten (ca. zwanzig) und den vielen registrierten Fundstellen nimmt das Siedlungskomplex in Osowa (etwa 10 km nordwestlich vom beutigen Siedlungszentrum Suwałki) einen wichtigen Platz ein. Es befindet sich in einer zentralen Lage im Verhältnis zu den anderen, von denen die nächsten 6 km südlich (in Krzywólka), 3 km westlich (in Żywa Woda), 8 km südöstlich (in Sz wajcaria und Osinki) und etwa 7 km südwestlich (in Korkliny) liegen.

Das Siedlungskomplex in Osowa umfasst ein Hügelgräberfeld und eine Siedlung aus denselben Zeiten, also zwei Hauptelemente, welche die Tätigkeit der menschlichen Gemeinschaft dokumentieren und Material liefern, das sich in bohem Grade gegenseitig ergänzt, sowohl im Gebiete der materiellen und geistigen Kultur als auch im Bereich der gesellschaftlich-wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen. Es ist zu erwähnen, dass sich in einer Entfernung von kaum 2 km südlich dieses Komplexes ein anderes, chronologisch etwas späteres Gräberfeld befindet, das schon keinen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mehr mit dem behandelten Komplex aufweist.

Das Gräberfeld in Osowa war schon seit langem in der Literatur des Gegenstandes bekannt. Um die Hälfte des XIX. Jh. wurde es von A. Budziński, einem der ersten polnischen Forscher des Altertums in diesem Landteil, entdeckt; der Genannte führte auch eine einleitende Penetration des Geländes durch <sup>4</sup>. Noch früher — Anfang des XVII. Jh. — wurde das Gräberfeld mehrmals als „Heidengräber“ bei einer Beschreibung der Grenzen des einem dortigen Kloster angehörenden Grundbesitzes erwähnt <sup>5</sup>. Erst in den Jahren 1956—1961 wurde das Gräberfeld zum Gegenstand systematischer Forschungen. Diese wurden zunächst vorgenommen, um das Gräberfeld vor Devastation zu retten, denn die Grabaufschüttungen waren teilweise — der darin enthaltenen Steine wegen — zerstört worden. Diese Zerstörungen, die etwa 50<sup>3</sup>/<sub>0</sub> der Hügelgräber umfassten, beschädigten aber nur die oberirdischen Teile; die Mehrzahl der unter der Erdoberfläche befindlichen Bestattungen blieb unberührt. Die ganze Fläche des Gräberfeldes wurde untersucht und dabei 123 Hügelgräber gefunden, die vermutlich einen bedeutenden Teil dieser Nekropole, wenn nicht die ganze, bildeten <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> A. Budziński, *Paszukiwania archeologiczne w b. guberni augustowskiej*, „Biblioteka Warszawska“ Bd. I, Warszawa 1871, S. 242—243.

<sup>5</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie suwalskim od XV wieku do połowy XVII wieku*, „Studia i Materiały do dziejów Suwalszczyzny”, Białystok 1965, S. 59.

<sup>6</sup> J. Jaskanis, *Sprawozdanie z badań w 1956 r. na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejsc. Osowa pow. Suwałki*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXV, H. 1—2, Warszawa 1958, S. 75—97; D. Jaskanis, J. Jaskanis, *Sprawozdanie z badań w 1957 r. na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejsc. Osowa pow. Suwałki*, „Wia-

In den Jahren 1962—1965 wurden Untersuchungen im Bereich der Siedlung (Fundstelle II) durchgeführt, die während der Forschungen auf dem Gräberfeld entdeckt und lokalisiert worden war. Bis jetzt sind 2.715 m<sup>2</sup> untersucht; während dieser Arbeit wurde die Ausdehnung des Objekts in südlicher, östlicher und (annähernd) in den beiden restlichen Richtungen festgestellt, wobei einführende Kenntnisse bezüglich des Charakters der Siedungsbebauung sowie hinsichtlich der Dicke und Eigenschaften der Kulturschicht in verschiedenen Stellen erlangt wurden.

Dieser Artikel berichtet kurz über die wichtigsten, in Osowa gewonnenen Ergebnisse, die — wie es scheint — eine grosse Bedeutung für die Erforschung mancher Elemente der Besiedlung, Demographie, materiellen Kultur und Wirtschaft der ganzen Stammgruppe vom Zwischenflussgebiet der Rospuda und der Marycha haben.

II. Das Gräberfeld und die Siedlung in Osowa befinden sich auf einer länglichen, aus zwei Terrassen bestehenden Moränenwulst, deren horizontaler Plan einem Dreieck ähnlich sieht (Abb. 1). Die Grundlinie dieses Dreiecks läuft im Parallelkreis und beträgt knappe 400 m; seine Höhe, d.h. die Länge von Norden nach Süden, beträgt etwa 600 m. Die nordöstliche und östliche Seite dieses Dreiecks ist gegenwärtig durch das sumpfige Überschwemmungstal der Czarna Hańcza umrahmt; das Flussbett läuft längs dessen Rands. Südlich und westlich ist das Flussbett von Sümpfen und Torfmoor umgeben; es sind ehemalige Abzweigungen und Lachen der Czarna Hańcza, mit einer Breite von über zwanzig Metern bis fast einem halben Kilometer. Der Höhenunterschied zwischen der Oberfläche des Geländes und der Sümpfe beträgt gegenwärtig 6—10 m; dabei sind die Abhänge — besonders im westlichen und südlichen Teil — ziemlich steil. Die hohe Lage des Geländes und dessen Bodeneigenschaften — Kieserde von bedeutender Wasserdurchlässigkeit — gewährleisten sogar in sehr feuchten Perioden einen trockenen, für die Existenz günstigen Boden.

Einen weiteren wichtigen Faktor bildeten die natürlichen Verteidigungsbedingungen — ein erschwelter Zutritt sowohl zum Gräberfeld als auch zur Siedlung. Ein freier Zutritt zu dieser Insel, die ringsherum von Wasser und Sümpfen umgeben ist, befindet sich nämlich nur in deren südwestlichem Teil: es ist ein schmaler Engpass, der einen natürlichen Damm bildet. Es ist schwer festzustellen, ob dieser Damm durch ein primitives Verzäunungssystem befestigt war; jedenfalls ermöglichte er

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domości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXVII, H. 1, Warszawa 1961, S. 27—48; J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejsc. Osowa pow. Suwałki w latach 1958—1959, „Rocznik Białostocki”, Bd. I, Białystok 1961, S. 131—192; Derselbe, Wyniki badań cmentarzyska kurhanowego we wsi Osowa w latach 1960—1961, „Rocznik Białostocki”, Bd. III, 1962, S. 233—298.

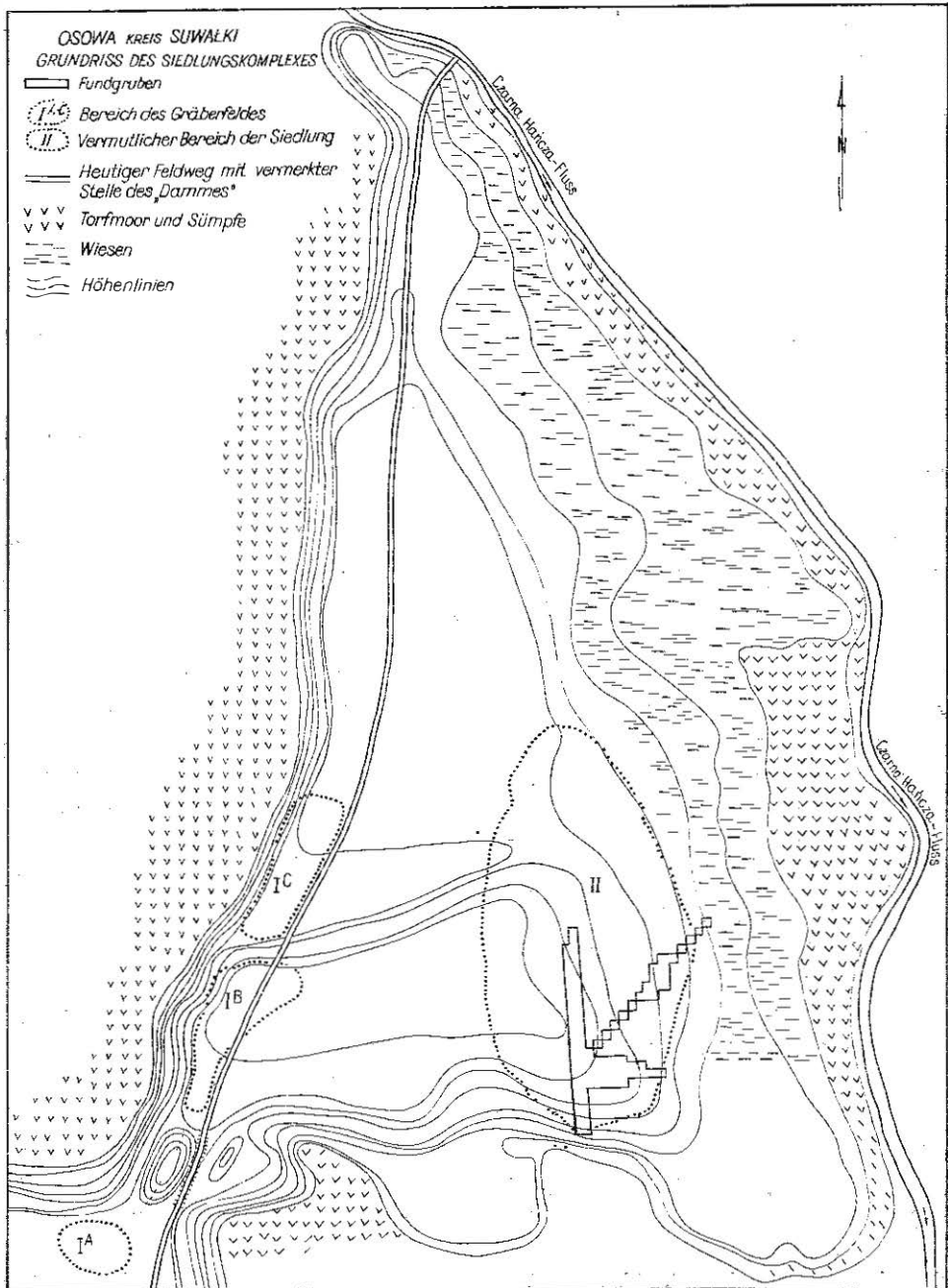


Abb. 1. Osowa, Kreis Suwałki. Situationsplan der Fundstellen: Gräberfeld — Fundstelle I, Siedlung — Fundstelle II.

die Kontrolle des Zutritts von aussen her und die Abwehr eines eventuellen Ueberfalls. Beide Objekte befanden sich im südlichen Teil der Insel: das Gräberfeld lag längs deren westlichem Rand, die Siedlung gegenüber, längs dem östlichen.

Die Hügelgräber bildeten einen schmalen Streifen von etwa 200 m Länge; dessen Breite betrug von 30 m (im nördlichen Teil) bis 70 m (im mittleren) und 10 m (im südlichen). Da das Gelände aus zwei Terrassen bestand, war das Objekt in zwei Teile gespalten. Der eine (Mittelteil) lag höher, der andere (nördliche) auf der unteren Terasse; dieser war am spätesten entstanden. Interessant ist, dass der älteste Teil des Gräberfeldes, der aus einer Gruppe von einigen zehn Grabhügeln besteht, sich nicht auf der Insel befand, sondern am Ansatz des Dammes, an dessen Aussenseite, also eine dritte Gräbergruppe im Bereich dieser Nekropole bildete.

Die Siedlung war vom Gräberfeld etwa 100—200 m östlich entfernt. Aus bisherigen Forschungen ergibt sich, dass sie den nach Osten und Süden ziemlich sanft fallenden Abhang der oberen Inselterrasse einnahm, eine im horizontalen Plan länglich — ovale Fläche, von Norden nach Süden 280 m lang und 140 m breit. Der östliche Rand der Siedlung grenzte — wie festgestellt wurde — an das Ueberschwemmungstal der Czarna Hańcza; der südliche Rand — an die Sümpfe. Im Norden zog sich die Siedlung bis zu einer Bodenvertiefung, die ehemals sumpfig war. Dagegen umfasste die Siedlung im Westen wahrscheinlich auch einen Teil der Gipfelpartie des oberen Geländes. Solch eine Situierung der Siedlung auf dem östlichen Abhang des Hügels war wohl nicht zufällig. Heute noch bildet dieses Terrain eine günstig gelegene Stelle, wo die in dieser Gegend häufig wehenden scharfen Westwinde bedeutend schwächer sind. Forschungen über die altertümliche Landschaft der nahen Ortschaften Sz wajcaria und Osinki erwiesen, dass es in der späten Römischen Periode und in der Völkerwanderungszeit in diesem subatlantischen Klima (II) wahrscheinlich auch eine westliche und südwestliche Zirkulation gab.<sup>7</sup>

Das Beispiel von Osowa steht im untersuchten Zwischenflussgebiet der Rospuda und der Marycha nicht vereinzelt da; es gelang nämlich, in diesem Gebiet auch andere, neben Gräberfeldern liegende und aus denselben Zeiten wie diese stammenden Siedlungen zu lokalisieren. In der nahen Ortschaft Krzywólka, wo Reste von Hügelgräbern aus der Mitte des I. Jahrtausends u.Z. festgestellt wurden<sup>8</sup>, befindet sich, 1 km entfernt, in einer Flussschleife der Czarna Hańcza, eine noch nicht erforschte Sie-

<sup>7</sup> J. Stasiak, *Badania nad starożytnym krajobrazem Pojezierza Suwalskiego w rejonie Sz wajcarii, Białystok 1965, S. 30.*

<sup>8</sup> D. Jaskanis, *Cmentarzysko kurhanowe w miejsc. Krzywólka pow. Suwałki, „Rocznik Białostocki”, Bd. IV, Białystok 1964, S. 279—308.*



dlung<sup>9</sup>. Die während der einleitenden Penetration erlangten Funde zeugen davon, dass sie auf dieselbe Zeit wie die Siedlung in Osowa festzusetzen ist. In Sz wajcaria befindet sich in ähnlicher Entfernung von einem Gräberfeld aus dem II./III.—V. Jh. u. Z. — eine in den Jahren 1958—1959 und 1963 aufgegrabene Siedlung aus denselben Zeiten<sup>10</sup>. Der Fall, dass eine Siedlung so nahe beim Gräberfeld lag wie in Osowa, ist bis jetzt eine Seltenheit, und zwar nicht nur in den sudauischen Gegenden. Dies kann als methodischer Hinweis beim Suchen von Siedlungen dienen, die in unmittelbarer Nähe von sudauischen, in der Landschaft deutlicher sichtbaren Hügelgräberfeldern aus der Römischen Periode und der Völkerwanderungszeit vorkommen können. Ein zusätzliches Argument stellt auch die Lokalisierung der Gräberfelder dar: fast ausnahmslos befinden sie sich in der Nähe von Wasserbecken, die heute vielmals nur noch als Torfmoor oder sumpfiges Gelände sichtbar sind.

Einen anderen wissenschaftlichen Wert hat folgende Tatsache: Die Siedlung und das örtliche Kultzentrum des behandelten Komplexes waren so lokalisiert, dass in maximalem Grade natürliche Schutzbedingungen gewährleistet waren. Das in diesem Zusammenhang erlangte Material gibt noch keine grössere Auswahl an analogischen Feststellungen. Weder die Siedlungen in Osowa und Osinki, noch die früheren in Zubronajcie<sup>11</sup> weisen dergleichen Eigenschaften auf. Neben der Siedlung in Osinki wurde nur eine Anhöhung entdeckt, deren einzige Wehranlage aus einer Palisade und einem Wall mit kleinem Innenplatz bestand<sup>12</sup>. Bei dem heutigen Stand der Forschungen ist es schwer, die Funktion dieser im Inneren der Siedlung liegenden, befestigten Stelle zu definieren. Die Vermutungen, dass sie eventuell als Kult- oder Zufluchtsort (dies letztere ist weniger wahrscheinlich) für die Bewohner der Siedlung diente, müssen erst durch weitere Forschungen bestätigt werden; immer-

<sup>9</sup> J. Okulicz, Osada z wczesnej epoki żelaza w miejsc. Krzywólka pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXII, H. 2—4, (1955), S. 366—367. Die Chronologie dieses Objekts ist vom Verfasser irrtümlich bestimmt worden; bei Oberflächenuntersuchungen wurden dort Fragmente von Keramik gefunden, die analogisch mit dem Material aus der Siedlung Osowa sind, also annähernd aus der Mitte des I. Jahrtausends u. Z. stammen müssen.

<sup>10</sup> J. Okulicz, Sprawozdanie z badań prowadzonych w 1958 r. na osadzie pod „Zamczyskiem” w miejsc. Osinki pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXVII, H. 1, Warszawa 1961, S. 82—89; Derselbe, Sprawozdanie z badań prowadzonych w 1959 r. na osadzie i grodzisku w Osinkach pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXIX, H. 2, Warszawa 1963, S. 193—209. Das bei späteren Forschungen erlangte Material ist noch in Bearbeitung.

<sup>11</sup> Die Siedlung in Zubronajcie (frühe Eisenzeit) wurde in den Jahren 1961—1964 von M. Kaczyński untersucht, der das dort gewonnene Material bearbeitet.

<sup>12</sup> J. Okulicz, Sprawozdanie z badań prowadzonych w 1959 r. ... o.c., S. 201 und andere.



Abb. 2. Osowa, Kreis Suwałki, Fundstelle I. Körpergrab, III. Jh.u.Z., Grabhügel 74.

hin weisen sie auf eine gewisse Verschiedenartigkeit der Lokalisationslösungen bei solchen sudauischen Objekten im Gebiet der Czarna Hańcza aus der Mitte des I. Jahrtausends u. Z.

III. Die im Bereich des Gräberfeldes von Osowa durchgeführten Forschungen ermöglichten das Erlangen ziemlich genauer Angaben über

den Bestattungsritus dieser Menschengruppe, welche diese Nekropole über dreihundert Jahre hindurch benutzte<sup>13</sup>. Es sind dort zwei Formen von Bestattungen festgestellt worden: Körpergräber (Abb. 2), die im allgemeinen älter sind, und Brandgräber. Die letzteren enthielten zu-



Abb. 3 O s o w a, Kreis Suwałki, Fundstelle I. Steinaufschüttungen der Gräberhöhlen 97 und 98.

erst — ungefähr seit der Wende des IV. und V. Jh. u. Z. — keine Urnen; in der letzten Phase des Gräberfeldes aber wurden bereits zur Bestattung von menschlichen Brandüberresten Urnen gebraucht (Abb. 3). Die Wende des IV./V. Jh. u. Z. ist eine für den Bestattungsbrauch ziemlich konventionelle Zäsur; dies bezieht sich u. a. auch auf das aus denselben Zeiten stammende Gräberfeld in Szwajcaria<sup>14</sup>. Brandgräber

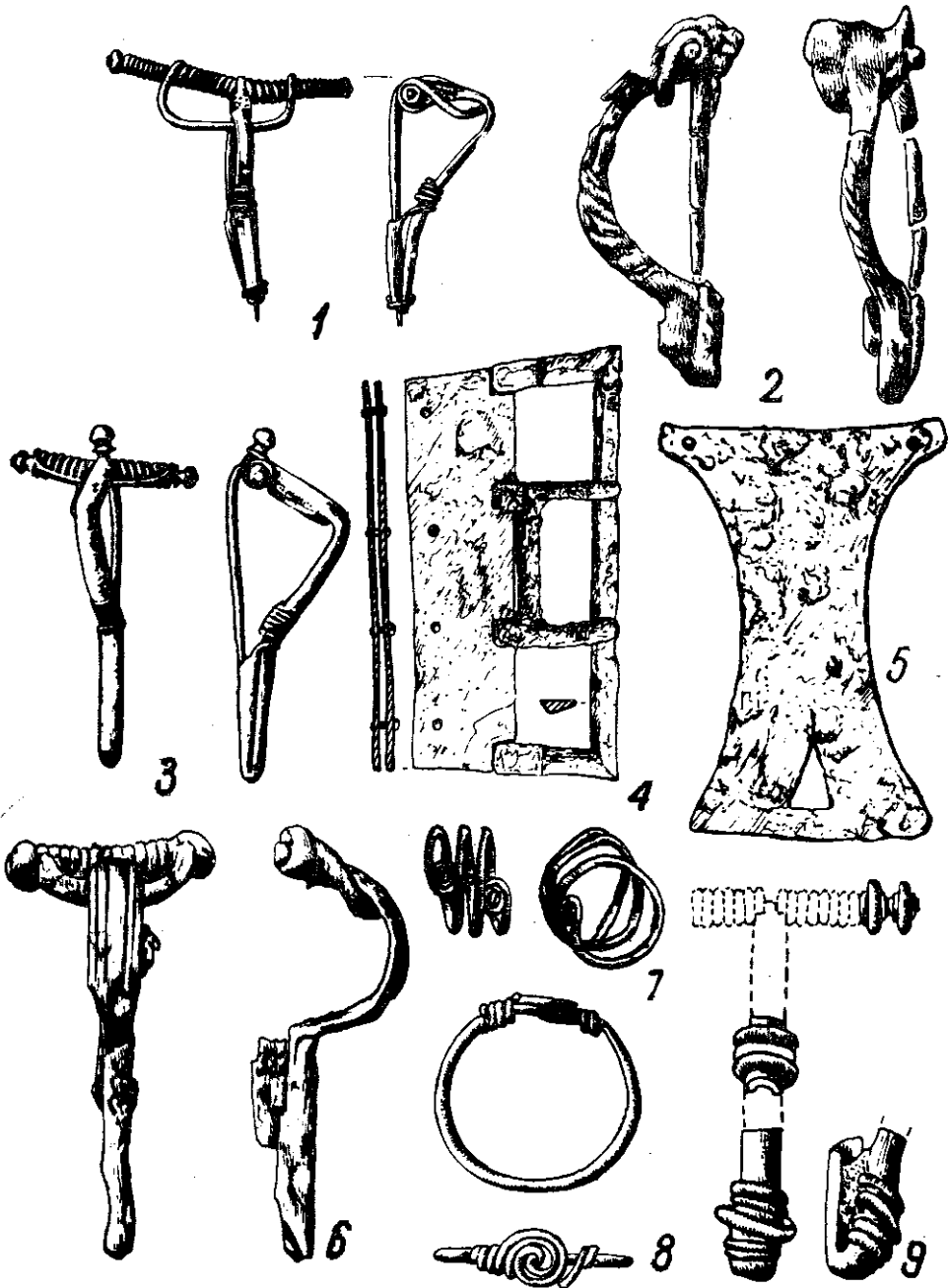
<sup>13</sup>. Vgl. Anmerkung Nr. 6. Mit dem Bestattungsritus in Osowa und anderen, aus derselben Zeit stammenden Gräberfeldern beschäftigte sich J. J a s k a n i s, *Z problematyki dotychczasowych badań archeologicznych nad Jaćwieżą w I tysiącleciu n.e. na obszarze górnego dorzecza Czarnej Hańczy*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica” Bd. I, Białystok 1964, S. 49—64, der die Forschungen in diesem Gebiet zusammenfasste.

<sup>14</sup> Die Forschungen von J. A n t o n i e w i c z aus den Jahren 1955—1965 wurden teilweise in „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXII-1961, XXV-1958 (zusammen mit J. Okulicz und M. Kaczyński) sowie im Bd. XXVII-1961, XIX-1963 veröffentlicht. Siehe J. A n t o n i e w i c z, *The Sudovians...*, o.c.

treten nämlich sporadisch auch gleichzeitig mit Körperbestattungen auf (z. B. Hügelgrab Nr. 8 und Nr. 114), und sogar im V. Jh. u. Z. gab es unter der überwiegenden Mehrzahl von Brandgräbern auch Körperbestattungen<sup>15</sup>. Die Sache verhielt sich nämlich so: Gegen Ende des IV. und Anfang des V. Jh. u. Z. trat eine Änderung in den bisher üblichen Bestattungsregeln ein und anstatt der bisher vorwiegenden Körperbestattungsform wurde immer häufiger die Brandbestattung angewandt. Als interessanter Beweis für die Dauerhaftigkeit vieler früher praktizierten Bräuche ist der Fakt zu betrachten, dass weiterhin die alte Form der Bestattungsgruben, die meist rechteckig waren, bewahrt wurde, sowie die Steinumrahmung an deren Boden, die nord-südliche Richtung der längeren Grubenachse, die primäre Tendenz zu einzelnen Bestattungen in Hügelgräbern. Mit der Zeit wurden die Ausmasse der Bestattungsgruben kleiner, häufiger auch wurden die menschlichen Ueberreste in schon fertige Aufschüttungen eingegraben. Auch in der Ausrüstung der Verstorbenen traten — seitdem die Brandform allgemein angenommen wurde — Änderungen ein, die hauptsächlich auf der Eliminierung von Waffen aus der Ausstattung beruhten. Zu der Ausrüstung eines Männergrabes gehörten im III.—IV. Jh. u. Z. folgende Waffen: eine Lanzenspitze, seltener ein Schild (Tafel V), Sporen und Kleidungsstücke. Frauengräber enthielten zur Kleidung gehörende Metallgegenstände (Schnallen, Fibeln und Ringe), Glasperlen (aus mattem Glas mit Goldfolie), seltener Bernsteinperlen, Gefässe (Tafeln VI — VII). Die Ausstattung der Gräber war nicht reich; viele hatten überhaupt keine. Die Ursache dafür war, dass die Gräber, die traditionell unter dem mittleren Teil der Aufschüttung lokalisiert waren, schon im Altertum notorisch beraubt wurden. Es ist vielfach festgestellt worden, dass sich über einem beraubten Skelettgrab ein unbeschädigtes, jüngeres Brandgrab befand, welches später in die schon fertige Grube hineingebracht wurde. Dem Raub fielen hier — so, wie auf anderen umliegenden Gräberfeldern — Gegenstände aus edlen und bunten Metallen zum Opfer. In einigen nicht beraubten Gräbern wurden Gegenstände gefunden, die in beschädigten Gräbern meist nicht vorkamen, z. B. bronzene Armringe (Tafel IV — 13/19), ein Anhänger (Tafel IV-8), eine Fibel und Fragmente von Gegenständen (Glasperlenhalsbänder). Es wurden aber auch unbeschädigte Gräber entdeckt, deren Ausstattung arm war.

In Brandgräbern waren Ausstattungen seltener; das am häufigsten darin angetroffene Element waren Bernsteinperlen (Tafel IV, 1—5), und solche Gegenstände wie Messer, Nadeln, Ahlen, Schnallen, Gürtelble-

<sup>15</sup> J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań cmentarzyska..., o.c., S. 292—293.



## OSOWA, KREIS SUWAŁKI, FUNDSTELLE I

1—Bronzefibel, Grabhügel 66, Grab 1; 2—Eisefibel, Grabhügel 55, Grab 1; 3—Bronzefibel, Grabhügel 27, Grab 1; 4—5 — eiserne Gürtelschnalle und Gürtelzunge, Grabhügel 114, Grab 2; 6—Eisefibel, Grabhügel 53; 7—Bronzering, Grabhügel 73, Grab 1; 8—Ringgarnitur aus Bronze, Grabhügel 62; 9—Fragmente einer Bronzefibel, Grabhügel 63, Grab 1; alles natürlicher Grösse.

che, die im allgemeinen keinen Wert als genaues chronologisches Kriterium haben. Daher kann die obere chronologische Grenze der Benutzung des Gräberfeldes nur annähernd auf den Anfang des VI. Jh. u. Z. oder auf die Wende des V. und VI. Jh. u. Z. festgesetzt werden.

Von den über zweihundert Gräbern sind manche bemerkenswert. Zu diesen gehören vor allem zwei Männergräber — ein Skelettgrab aus dem IV. Jh. u. Z. im Grabhügel Nr. 41 und ein Brandgrab aus dem V. Jh. u. Z. im Grabhügel Nr. 11; neben beiden waren Pferde bestattet<sup>16</sup>. Die Pferde waren zusammen mit den zu ihrem Geschirr gehörenden Trensen und Schnallen in liegender Position in gesonderten Gruben begraben, die sich westlich von den Menschengräbern befanden. Eine ähnliche Lokalisation wurde noch in einem anderen Grabhügel — Nr. 74 — festgestellt, wo sich in der Grube anstatt eines ganzen Pferdeskeletts nur die Pferdebeine befanden<sup>17</sup>. Sowohl die gefundenen ganzen Skelette, als auch die symbolische Bestattung nur von Pferdebeinen im Grabhügel, stehen in interessantem Zusammenhang mit Erscheinungen, die nicht nur in dieser Gegend, sondern auch auf Gräberfeldern in anderen baltischen Gebieten, besonders in Samland und Natangen, vorkommen. Die letzten Forschungen über die Pferdegräber bei den Westbalten im I. Jahrtausend u. Z. erweisen, dass diese Erscheinung eher als ein sich im Bestattungsritus abspiegelndes ökonomisches Element anzusehen ist (da doch bei diesen Völkern die Tierzucht einen wichtigen Platz einnahm), und nicht die Rolle symbolisiert, die der Verstorbene als reitender Krieger spielte<sup>18</sup>.

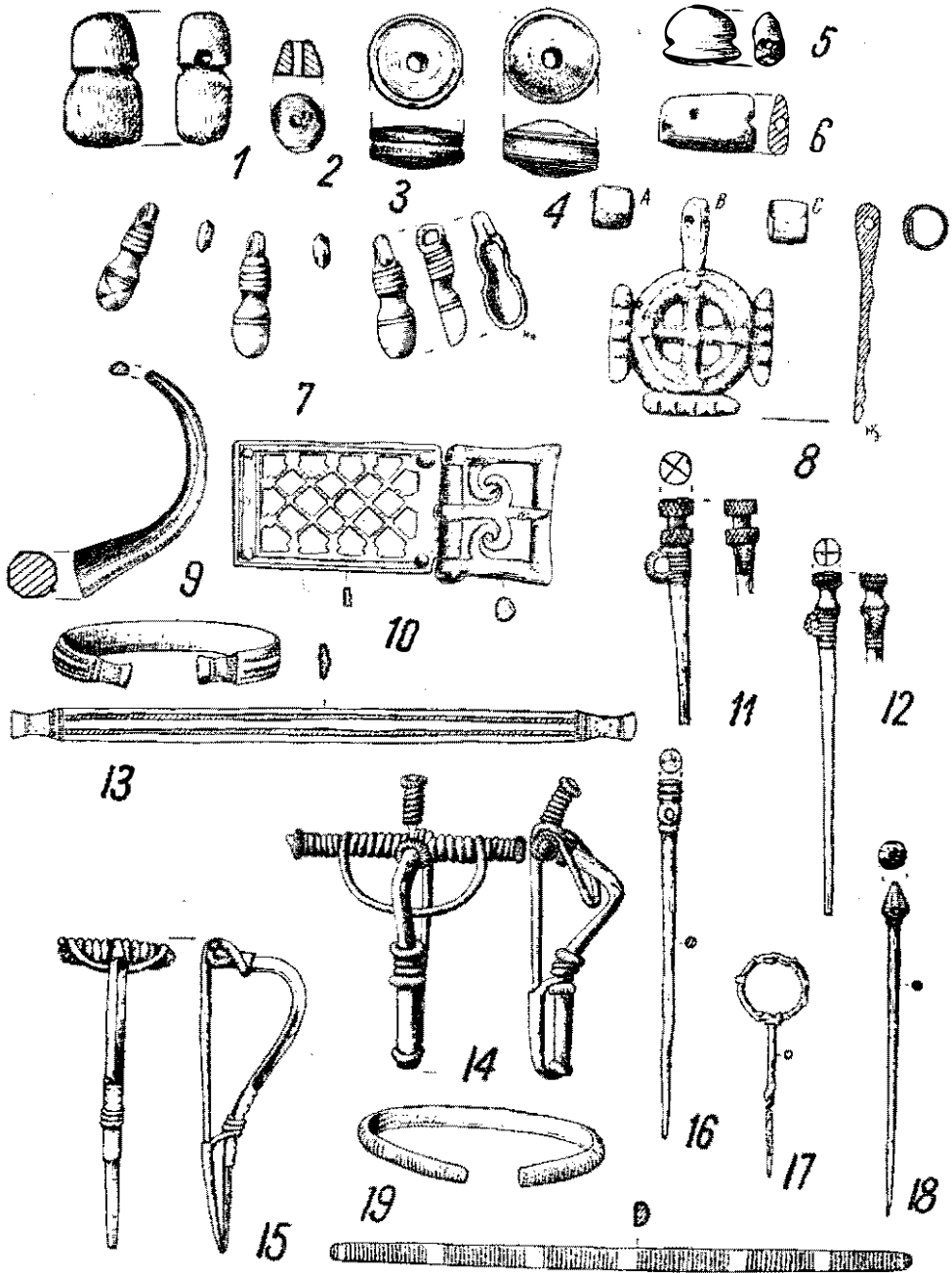
Auch gefundenes Grabmaterial anderer Art bestätigt diese Vermutungen; es sind dies aus anderen Grabhügeln (z. B. Grab 1 im Grabhügel Nr. 14, Grab 1 im Grabhügel Nr. 80, Grabhügel Nr. 89 u. a.) stammende Ueberreste von Tieren, die im Bereich der Bestattungsgruben zusammen mit menschlichen Ueberresten gefunden wurden. Interessant ist nämlich, dass die Tierüberreste durch Schädel oder Schädelfragmente (z. B. Kiefer, Zähne) von Schafen-Ziegen und Schweinen repräsentiert sind<sup>19</sup>. Die Symbolik dieser Funde ist dem schon erwähnten Fakt der Bestattung von Pferdebeinen ähnlich.

<sup>16</sup> J. Jaskanis, *Sprawozdanie z badań w 1956 r. ...*, o.c., S. 88; D. Jaskanis, J. Jaskanis, *Sprawozdanie z badań w 1957 r. ...*, o.c., S. 44—48.

<sup>17</sup> J. Jaskanis, *Wyniki badań...*, o.c., S. 172.

<sup>18</sup> J. Jaskanis, *Human burials with horses in Prussia and Sudovia*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, Bd. IV, Białystok 1966.

<sup>19</sup> Das einleitende, dieses Gebiet betreffende Material, das aus einigen Fundstellen, u. a. auch aus dem Gräberfeld in Osowa stammt, wurde von K. Krysiak veröffentlicht, *Szczątki zwierzęce z okresu rzymskiego z kurhanów Suwalszczyzny wydobyte w 1958 r.*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXV (1958), S. 140.



## OSOWA. KREIS SUWAŁKI, FUNDSTELLE I

1—Bernsteinanhänger, Grabhügel 63, Grab 1; 2—4—Bernsteinperlen, Grabhügel 52, Grab 2; 5—Bernsteinperlen, Grabhügel 43, Grab 1; 7—Bronzeperlen und -anhänger, Grabhügel 117, Grab 1; 8—Bronzeanhänger, Grabhügel 90, Grab 2; 9—Fragment eines Bronzearmrings, Grabhügel 48, Grab 2; 10—Bronzeschnalle, Grabhügel

Kehren wir aber zum Problem des Bestattungsritus, und zwar zu den Bestattungsformen, zurück. Es ist zu betonen, dass im III. und IV. Jh. u.Z. die Körperbestattung üblich war (Abb. 2). Das war in jenen Zeiten wahrscheinlich allgemeiner Brauch bei der Mehrheit, wenn nicht allen Menschengruppen, die an der oberen und mittleren Czarna Hańcza lebten. Zu einer solchen Formulierung berechtigt das Auftreten von Skelettgräbern in Żywa Woda<sup>20</sup>, in der schon erwähnten Szwajcaria und in Korkliny<sup>21</sup>. In dieser Beziehung kann die genannte Gegend von den übrigen südlich und westlich gelegenen Nachbargebieten abgesondert werden, da in den letzteren Skelettgräber aus diesen Zeiten nicht vorkommen. Eine Ausnahme stellt die Gegend von Ełk dar<sup>22</sup>; dies ist jedoch ein kompliziertes und unklares Problem. Wahrscheinlich ist diese Gegend als eine gemischte Zone mit zwei verschiedenen Arten von Gräberfeldern zu betrachten. Etwas ältere Skelettgräber wurden in Rominty auf einem weiter nordwestlich gelegenen Hügelgräberfeld<sup>23</sup> gefunden, ausserdem auch auf den Gräberfeldern von Samland — Natangien, im Zuflussgebiet der Pregoła, von Wystruć<sup>24</sup> durch Sławosze (Kreis Kętrzyn)<sup>25</sup> bis zur grössten Anhäufung von Nekropolen mit solchen Gräbern auf der Halbinsel Samland und deren Ansatz. Die hier seit Ende des I. Jh. bis zum III. Jh. u. Z. einschliesslich bekannte Körperbestattung trat im allgemeinen zusammen mit gleichzeitiger Brandbestattung auf, wobei sich das quantitative Verhältnis in den einzelnen

<sup>20</sup> W. Ziemińska-Odojowa, Badania wykopaliskowe w 1959 na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejsc. Żywa Woda pow. Suwałki, „Rocznik Białostocki”, Bd. I, Białystok 1961, S. 193—222, wo auch frühere, dieses Objekt betreffende Literatur angegeben ist.

<sup>21</sup> Forschungen im Jahre 1965, bearbeitet von J. Jaskanis.

<sup>22</sup> Zum Beispiel das Gräberfeld in Ruska Wieś — C. Engel, Die Ostmasurischen Hügelgräber bei Reuschendorf, Krs. Lyck, „Mannus”, Bd. XXIV 1932, S. 481—494.

<sup>23</sup> A. Bezenberger, Das Gräberfeld bei Rominten, „Prussia-Ber.”, Bd. XX, 1895/96, Königsberg 1896, S. 35—56.

<sup>24</sup> „Altpreußen”, Bd. III, S. 58.

<sup>25</sup> E. Hollack, Erläuterungen zur vorgeschichtlichen Übersichtskarte von Ostpreussen, 1908, S. 58 und die zitierte Literatur. Derselbe, Die Grabformen der ostpreussischen Gräberfelder „Zeitschrift für Ethnologie” 1908, H. 2, S. 165.

gel 22; 11 — Bronzenadel, Grabhügel 123; 12 und 16 — Bronzenadeln, Grabhügel 11, Grab 1 und 3; 14 — Bronzefibel, Grabhügel 65, Grab 1; 15 — Bronzefibel, Grabhügel 90, Grab 2; 17 — Eisennadel, Grabhügel 18; 18 — Bronzenadel, Grabhügel 114, Grab 2; 13 und 19 — bronzene Armringe, Grabhügel 27, Grab 1. Nr. 10 —  $\frac{2}{3}$  natürlicher Grösse; Nr. 13 und Nr. 19 —  $\frac{1}{2}$  natürlicher Grösse; die restlichen — natürlicher Grösse.



Fundstellen verschiedenartig gestaltet<sup>26</sup>. Der Körperbestattungsritus wurde auch von der in Mittel- und Ostlitauen lebenden Bevölkerung angewandt, also in den nördlichen und östlichen Nachbargebieten unseres Bezirks<sup>27</sup>. Näher gelegene ostlitauische Funde unterscheiden sich aber von den westbaltischen durch die Art ihrer Orientierung, da man in den letzteren Gebieten die Toten mit dem Kopf nach Norden legte (mit häufigen Abweichungen nach Nordwesten und Nordosten)<sup>28</sup>. Es sind auch die spätesten Gräber, und sie treten am längsten auf — bis in die Mitte des VI. Jh. u. Z. hinein<sup>29</sup>. Es wäre vorzeitig, hierüber Schlüsse zu formulieren, aber für die weiteren Forschungen ist der Zusammenhang zwischen dem behandelten Bezirk und den weiter — an der Pregola — gelegenen Gebieten bemerkenswert, wobei es den Anschein hat, als ob sich im Suwałki-Gebiet sowohl manche Fakten als auch die sie begleitenden Umwandlungen, welche dort eintraten, mit Verspätung wiederholten.

Die einzige, auf dem Gräberfeld in Osowa festgestellte Grabform ist das Hügelgrab; es ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, dass es darunter auch Flachgräber gab, wie sie auf den aus denselben Zeiten stammenden Gräberfeldern in Sz wajc ar ia<sup>30</sup> und Żywa Woda<sup>31</sup> entdeckt wurden. Sie waren dort übrigens in verhältnismässig kleiner Zahl vertreten oder sie gehörten zu den Ausnahmen. Bezüglich Osowa ist die Unterscheidung schwer, da bei fast der Hälfte von den Hügelgräbern die Aufschüttungen fehlten. Die entdeckten Bestattungsgruben aber, über denen sich keine Aufschüttungen mehr befanden, lagen in solch einer Entfernung voneinander, die dem Durchmesser eines durchschnittlichen Hügels entsprach; ausserdem trug die entschiedene Mehrzahl davon Spuren abgetragener Aufschüttungen. Diese Wahrscheinlichkeit wird noch dadurch bestärkt, dass ein bedeutender Teil des Gräberfeldes nie als Acker diente.

Die Aufschüttungen der Hügelgräber waren nicht gross, ihr Durchmesser betrug 3 bis 11 m, meistens 4 bis 7 m. Auch im Aufriss waren sie nicht höher als 0,4 bis 0,5 m über der Erdoberfläche. Meistens gestalteten sie sich als schwach sichtbare Bodenerhöhungen. Die Aufschüttun-

<sup>26</sup> C. Engel, W. La Baume, Kulturen und Völker der Frühzeit im Preussenlande, Królewiec 1937, S. 144.

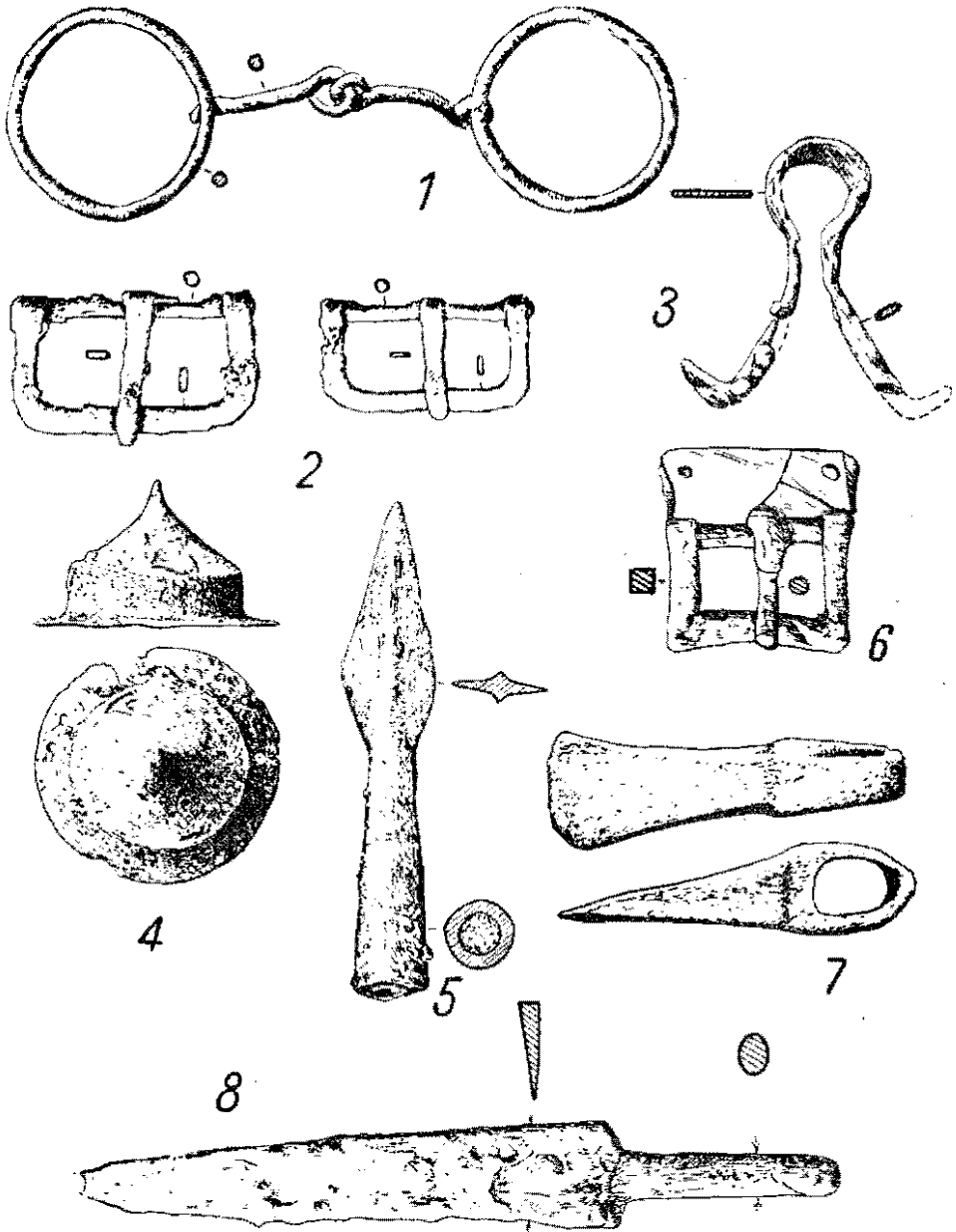
<sup>27</sup> M. Alseikaite-Gimbutiene, Die Bestattung in Litauen in der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit, Tübingen 1946, S. 48 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. Anmerkungen A. Bezenberger, Gräberfeld bei Bludau Krs. Fischhausen, „Prussia-Ber.“, Bd. XXIII, H. 1, 1914, S. 220.

<sup>29</sup> A. Tautavičius, Vostočnolitovskie kurgany „Trudy Pribaltijskoj Ekspedicii“, Bd. I, S. 133.

<sup>30</sup> Aus nach nicht veröffentlichten Forschungen in den Jahren 1963—1965.

<sup>31</sup> Bearbeitet von W. Ziemińska-Odojowa, „Rocznik Białostocki“, Bd. VI, 1965.



## OSOWA, KREIS SUWALKI, FUNDSTELLE I

1—2 — Eisentrense und Eisenschnallen, Grabhügel 41, Pferdegrab; 3 — Eisenhobel (?), Grabhügel 45; 4 — Eisenumbo, Grabhügel 8, Grab 1; 5 — Lanzenspitze, Grabhügel 25; 6 — Eisenschnalle, Grabhügel 123; 7 — kleines Beil, Grabhügel 8, Grab 2; 8 — Messer, Grabhügel 9. Nr. 1, Nr. 5, Nr. 7 — ca.  $\frac{1}{2}$  natürlicher Grösse; Nr. 4 — ca.  $\frac{1}{3}$  natürlicher Grösse; Nr. 2, Nr. 3, Nr. 8 — natürliche Grösse.

gen bestanden aus Feldsteinen und bildeten flache, leicht konvexe, zwei- oder dreischichtige Pflaster (Abb. 4). Die unterste Schicht bestand aus einer Reihe aneinander anliegender und sich konzentrisch zur Mitte hin verkleinernder Kreise, von denen der äussere und der nächste — die den Rand der Aufschüttung bildeten — meistens aus grösseren, sorgfältig nach ihrer Form gewählten Steinen bestanden. Im Grundriss bildeten die Aufschüttungen regelmässige Kreise. In der Mitte mancher



Abb. 4 Osowa, Kreis Suwałki, Fundstelle I. Urnengrab, Ende des V. — Anfang des VI. Jh. u. Z., Grabhügel 95, Grab 3.

von ihnen befand sich eine steinfreie Stelle; dies waren Beschädigungen, durch Raubgrabungen verursacht. In manchen grösseren Aufschüttungen — z. B. in Szwajcaria und Żywa Woda — erweckten diese leeren Stellen in der Mitte den Eindruck, als seien es Einsenkungen der oberen Teile.

In Osowa lagen die Hügelgräber dicht nebeneinander; oftmals berührten sich die Steinmäntel. Die Hügelgräber bildeten deutliche Reihen, und zwar sowohl nord-südliche als auch west-östliche (Abb. 5). Angesichts der Richtung (von Norden nach Süden), in der die Raumentwicklung des Objekts vor sich ging, und der Konfiguration des Geländes, ist festzustellen, dass die Hügelgräber im Bereich der längs der queren Achse des Gräberfeldes (also in der Richtung von Westen nach Osten) laufenden Reihen lokalisiert wurden. Bezeichnend ist, dass in einzelnen Reihen frühere Hügelgräber mit Körperbestattungen auftreten, die vielfach als aus einer Zeit stammende angesehen werden kön-

nen; diese liegen unmittelbar nebeneinander, oder es befinden sich zwischen ihnen kleine Lücken, in denen später Hügelgräber mit Brandbestattungen errichtet wurden. Als Illustration kann hier eine der Reihen im mittleren, auf die Hälfte des III. Jh. u. Z bis zur Hälfte des

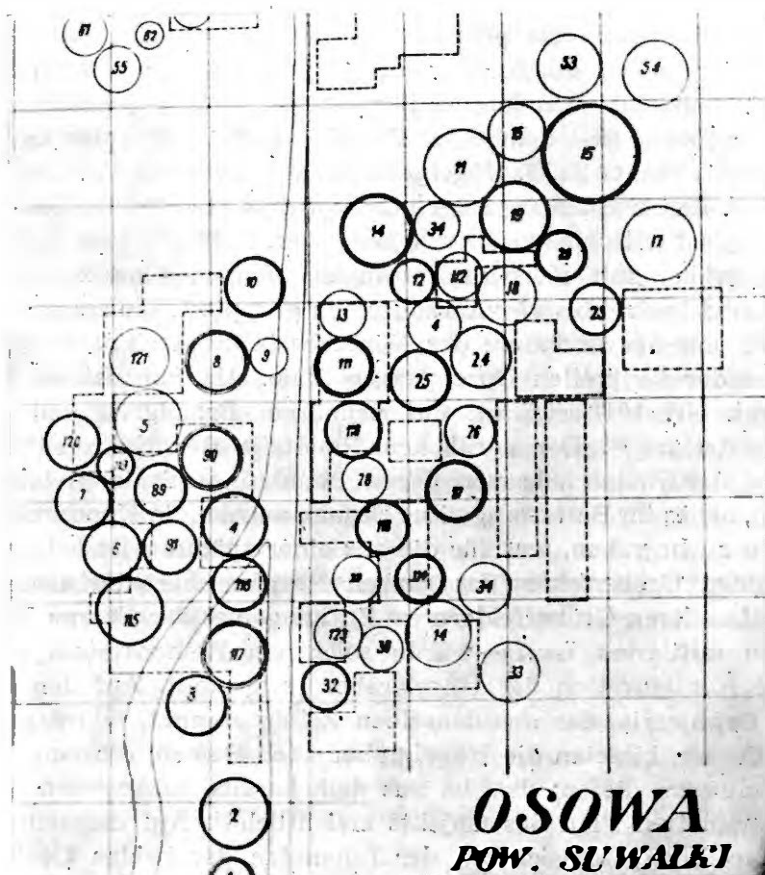


Abb. 5 Osowa, Kreis Suwałki, Fundstelle I. Plan des mittleren Teils des Gräberfeldes. Gräberhügel mit Körperbestattungen sind mit dicker Linie konturiert, Gräberhügel mit Brandbestattungen sind dünn gezeichnet.

IV. Jh. u. Z. datierten Teil des Gräberfeldes dienen, welche etwa sieben Hügelgräber enthält (Nr. 7, Nr. 89, Nr. 110, Nr. 25 mit Körperbestattungen, Nr. 90 mit Körperbestattung und später eingesetzter Brandbestattung, Nr. 24 mit Brandbestattung). In diesem Teil des Gräberfeldes wurden neue Reihen von der westlichen Seite her gebildet. Längs des westlichen Gräberfeldrandes, dessen Lage der Konfiguration des steilen Abhangs entsprach, befanden sich nämlich ausschliesslich Hügelgräber mit Körperbestattungen, und auch die ihnen folgenden nächsten Hügel-

gräber repräsentieren dieselbe Bestattungsförm. Die im allgemeinen späteren Hugelgraber mit Brandbestattung nahmen hauptsächlich die ostlichen Grenzteile ein; dies konnte als Bestatigung der Annahme dienen, dass eben hier die Peripherie des Graberfeldes lag. In spateren Zeiten wurde auch der freie Raum zwischen den Aufschuttungen ausgenutzt, was oftmals die primare, im allgemeinen symmetrische Lage der Aufschuttungen storte. Ziemlich oft wurden auch altere Hugelgraberaufschuttungen sekundar zu Bestattungszwecken gebraucht, wovon Graberkomplexe aus dem III.—IV. Jh. u. Z. mit spateren Brandbestattungen zeugen (z. B. Hugelgrab Nr. 27). Aehnlich verhielt sich die Sache mit der nordlichen Hugelgrabergruppe, in welcher die Brandbestattungsart entschieden uberwiegend war.

Hugelgraber mit Korperbestattungen nehmen eine zentrale Lage ein und sind in drei bis vier kurze Reihen gruppiert. Sie stammen wahrscheinlich aus der Endphase der Korperbestattungszeit und vermutlich auch aus der birituellen Durchgangsperiode. Als Beispiel sei hier das Hugelgrab Nr. 101 erwahnt, mit primarem Brandgrab und spaterer Korperbestattung<sup>32</sup>. Die nordlichen Randteile der Nekropole wurden schon in der Endperiode von deren Benutzungszeit in Gebrauch genommen, als es im Bestattungsritus Brauch wurde, die Knochenuberreste in Urnen zu begraben, was fur die aus einer spateren Besiedlungsphase stammenden Graberfelder des ganzen Bezirks charakteristisch war<sup>33</sup>. Auch auf anderen Graberfeldern im Zuflussgebiet der Czarna Hańcza — in deren mittlerem Lauf — wurde solch ein Reihensystem und eine ahnliche Konfiguration der Hugelgraber festgestellt. Auf dem Graberfeld in Sz wajcaria, das aus denselben Zeiten stammt, wie das Graberfeld in Osowa, bildeten die Hugelgraber auch Reihen, die von Sudosten nach Sudwesten liefen; dies ist aus dem bereits publizierten, ubrigens nicht kompletten Plan des Objekts ersichtlich<sup>34</sup>. Auf demselben Prinzip basiert auch offensichtlich der Innenplan der beiden Graberfelder in Szurpiły<sup>35</sup> und Bilwinowo<sup>36</sup>, obwohl diese in einem nicht so guten

<sup>32</sup> J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań cmentarzyska..., o.c., S. 260.

<sup>33</sup> J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań cmentarzyska..., o.c. S. 291, Derselbe, Z problematyki dotychczasowych badań..., o.c., S. 57—58.

<sup>34</sup> J. Antoniewicz, M. Kaczyński, J. Okulicz, Sprawozdanie z badań w 1955 r., „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXIII, 1956, Abb. XXVII.

<sup>35</sup> T. Żurowski, Sprawozdanie z badań cmentarzyska kurhanowego we wsi Szurpiły pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXV, 1958, Abb. 1 und 11. Derselbe, Sprawozdanie z badań w 1957 r. cmentarzyska kurhanowego na stanowisku II we wsi Szurpiły pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXVII, 1961, Abb. 1.

<sup>36</sup> M. Kaczyński, Cmentarzysko kurhanowe z V—VI wieku w miejsc. Bilwinowo pow. Suwałki, „Rocznik Białostocki” Bd. II, 1961, Tafel XV.

Zustand erhalten sind, wie die in Osowa und Sz wajcaria. Von anderen Gräberfeldern (z. B. in Prudziszki, Korkliny u. a.) sind zu kleine Reste geblieben, um daraus entsprechende Schlussfolgerungen ziehen zu können.

Auch auf anderen westbaltischen Gräberfeldern ist ein Reihensystem zu beobachten. Eine diesbezügliche Analyse ist jedoch dadurch sehr erschwert, dass die Pläne der Mehrzahl dieser Objekte nicht veröffentlicht sind. Unter den wenigen aber, die in Druckform erschienen sind, können interessante Aehnlichkeiten bemerkt werden. Ein Gräberreihensystem in der Richtung von Südwesten nach Nordosten kommt auf mehreren Gräberfeldern des Masurengbietes aus der Römischen Periode (in Grzybowo<sup>37</sup>, Kruglanki<sup>38</sup>, Leśniewo<sup>39</sup>, Giżycko<sup>40</sup> und Mojtyny)<sup>41</sup> vor; ausserdem auf solchen samländischen Gräberfeldern wie die in Grebity<sup>42</sup>, Dolkajmy<sup>43</sup>, Gr. Sausgarten<sup>44</sup>, darunter auch auf Hügelgräberfeldern (in Szlakalki<sup>45</sup>, Regeny<sup>46</sup> und Las Druski — Espenhain)<sup>47</sup>. Bezeichnend ist, dass diese Reihen nicht lang waren; sie bestanden aus einigen bis einigen zehn Gräbern, die im Bereich der einzelnen Gräberfelder Gruppierungen bildeten. Die letzteren werden als Bestattungsstelle besonderer Menschengruppen unter der das Gräberfeld benutzenden Menschengemeinschaft interpretiert. Vielleicht ist dies auch für das Gräberfeld in Osowa zutreffend, mit dem Unterschied jedoch, dass — wie es aus diesbezüglichen Berechnungen hervorgeht — die Masurengräberfelder von grösseren Menschengemeinschaften be-

<sup>37</sup> F. Peiser, Gräberfeld bei Grzybowen, „Prussia-Ber.“, Bd. XXIII, H. 2, 1919, Tafel XXX.

<sup>38</sup> K. Stadie, Gräberfeld bei Kruglanken, „Prussia-Ber.“ Bd. XXIII, H. 2, 1919, Tafel XXXVI.

<sup>39</sup> G. Bujack, Das Fürstenuer Gräberfeld, „Prussia-Ber.“, Bd. XII, 1885/86, Tafel XI.

<sup>40</sup> Kpt. Wulff, Aufdeckung eines altpreussischen Begräbnisplatzes bei der Stadt Lötzen, „Altpreussische Monatschrift“, Bd. V, 1868, S. 530.

<sup>41</sup> E. Hollack, F. Peiser, Das Gräberfeld von Mojtynen, 1904.

<sup>42</sup> G. Bujack, J. Heydeck, Das Gräberfeld der römischen Periode zu Grebieten Krs. Fischhausen, „Prussia-Ber.“, Bd. XIII, 1886/87, Tafel III A, III B.

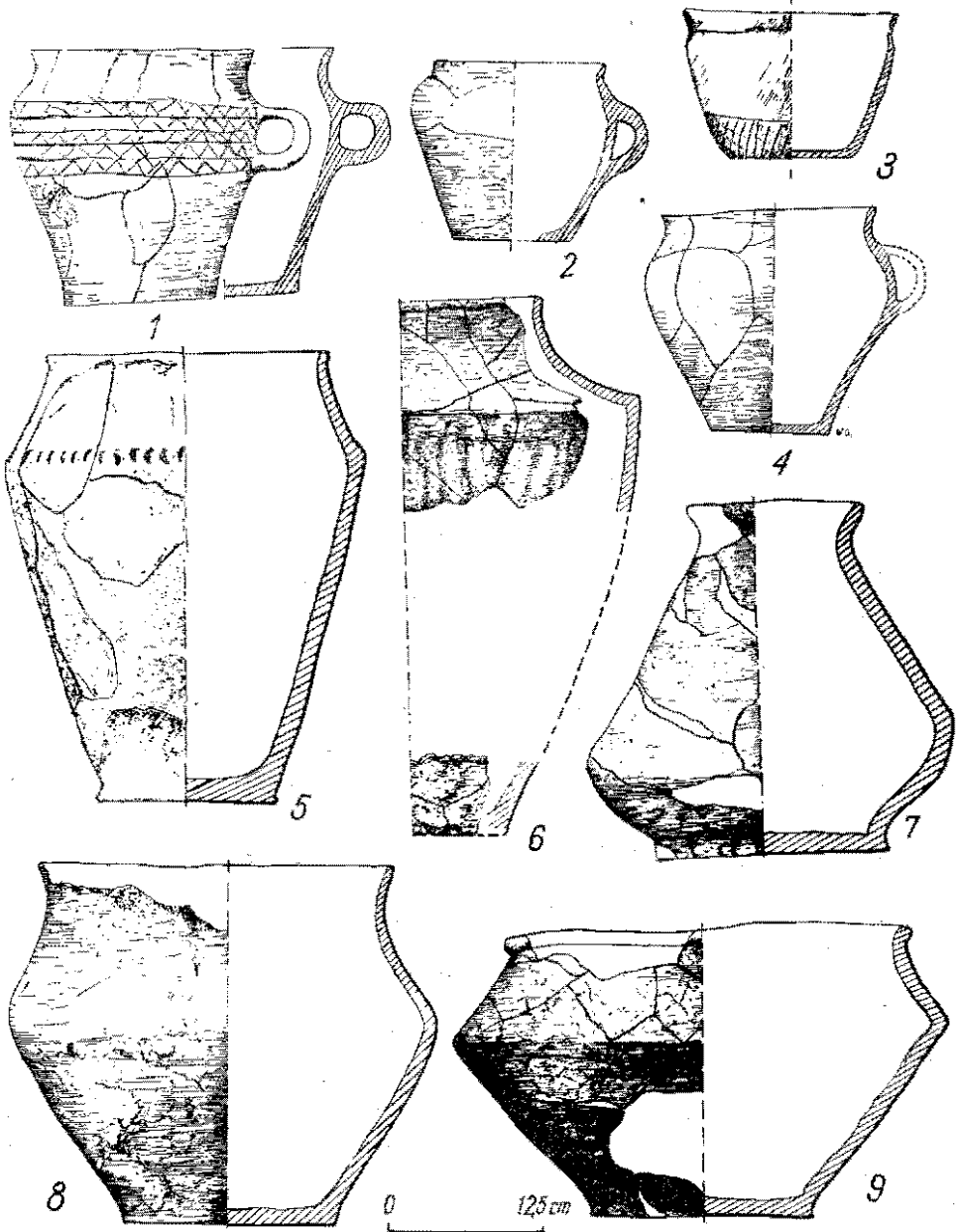
<sup>43</sup> C. Engel, Vorgeschichte der altpreussischen Stämme, Bd. I, Königsberg 1935, Tafel 8.

<sup>44</sup> K. Stadie, Gräberfeld bei Sausgarten, Krs. Pr. Eylau, „Prussia-Ber.“, Bd. XXIII, H. 2, 1919, Tafel XXXIII-8, S. 441.

<sup>45</sup> H. Jankuhn, Ein Gräberfeld der ersten Jahrhunderte v. Chr. aus Schlakalken, Krs. Fischhausen, „Prussia“, Bd. XXXII, H. 2, 1939, Tafel II.

<sup>46</sup> G. Bujack, Das Gräberfeld zu Regehn Krs. Fischhausen, „Prussia-Ber.“, Bd. XIV, 1887/88, Tafel VI.

<sup>47</sup> G. Bujack, Das Gräberfeld in der Drusker Forst, Schutzbezirk Espenhain, Jagen Nr. 209, „Prussia-Ber.“, Bd. XIV, 1887/88, Tafel III.



●SOWA, KREIS SUWAŁKI, FUNDSTELLE I

Urnen. 1 — aus dem Grabhügel 110; 2 — aus dem Grabhügel 123; 3 — aus dem Grabhügel 8, Grab 2; 4 — aus dem Grabhügel 112; 5 — aus dem Grabhügel 37; 6 — aus dem Grabhügel 61, Grab 1; 7 — aus dem Grabhügel 90, Grab 4; 8 — aus dem Grabhügel 64, Grab 2; 9 — aus dem Grabhügel 30, Grab 1. Nr. 3 — ca.  $\frac{1}{3}$  natürlicher Grösse; die anderen — ca.  $\frac{1}{2}$  natürlicher Grösse.

nutzt wurden, die bis 50 Menschen in einer Generation zählten<sup>48</sup>; dagegen betrug der betreffende Index im Suwałki-Seegebiet von etwa 10 Menschen im III.—V. Jh. u. Z. bis etwa 15 Menschen in den beiden nächsten Jahrhunderten<sup>49</sup>. Die obigen Ziffern, die vor einigen Jahren auf Grund von Forschungen im Bereich des Gräberfeldes in Osowa und anderer in der Umgebung befindlicher Gräberfelder aus denselben Zeiten berechnet wurden, haben im Lichte neuer Materialien keine Änderungen erfahren. Unbegründet scheint dagegen die damals formulierte Annahme, dass sich die Hügelgräbergruppierungen um ein grösseres Hügelgrab konzentrieren, in dem angeblich ein reitender Krieger bestattet sei, welcher als Führer der gegebenen Menschengemeinschaft in der jeweiligen Benutzungsperiode des Gräberfeldes interpretiert wurde<sup>50</sup>. Die Analyse dessen Plans erweist ausschliesslich eine reihenmässige Einordnung der Hügelgräber, unter denen sowohl solche mit Kriegerbestattungen (darunter manche mit Pferden) als auch andere Bestattungen (darunter Männer ohne Waffen, aber mit Pferden, ausserdem Frauen und Kinder) auftreten. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Hügelgräber in den einzelnen Reihen nacheinander errichtet wurden, ohne Rücksicht auf die gesellschaftliche Stellung der darin Bestatteten. Es ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die einzelnen Reihengruppierungen der Hügelgräber eventuell von näheren Familienverbindungen zwischen den darin Bestatteten zeugen können. Weitere Forschungen sind nötig, um dieses Problem zu lösen.

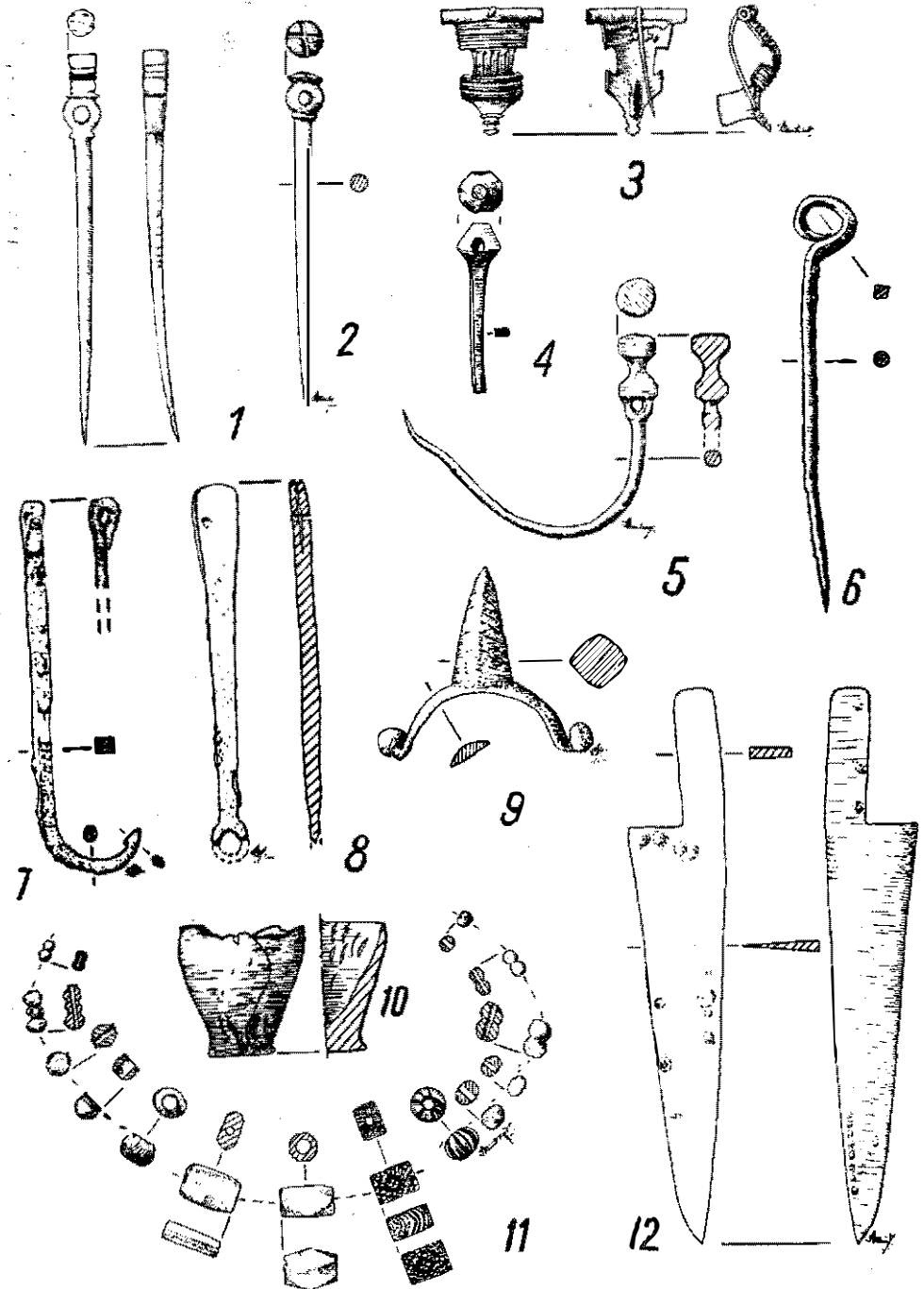
Was die Form der Hügelgräber anbetrifft, so bilden die Gräberfelder des Zwischenflussgebietes der Rospuda und der Marycha eine geschlossene Gruppe; dies ist sowohl für die Existenzperiode der Siedlung in Osowa zutreffend, als auch für spätere Zeiten — das VI. und VII. Jh. u. Z. Die analogische Anwendung von flachen Steinhügelgräbern wird nur bei der baltischen Bevölkerung angetroffen, die zwischen dem II. und VII. Jh. u. Z. am Fluss Gołdapa (dieser Bezirk entspricht dem heutigen Kreis Gołdap) und auch im östlichen Teil des Kreises Węgorzewo, im Kreis Olecko und in der nördlichen Hälfte des Kreises Elk lebte, geographisch also in einem Bezirk, der das Gebiet am oberen Lauf des Flusses Węgorapa und am nordöstlichen Ufer des Sees Mamry, im Zuflussgebiet der Gołdapa bis zur Rospuda im Osten, und den oberen Teil

<sup>48</sup> J. Okulicz, Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego odkryte w miejsc. Bogaczewo na przysiółku Kula pow. Giżycko, „Rocznik Olsztyński“, Bd. I, 1958. S. 106—110.

<sup>49</sup> J. Jaskanis, Z problematyki dotychczasowych badań..., o.c., S. 58—60.

<sup>50</sup> J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych... w latach 1958—1959..., o.c., S. 188—189.





## OSOWA, KREIS SUWALKI, FUNDSTELLE I

1 — Bronzenadel, Ar 55 B, Grube 89; 2 — Bronzenadel, Ar 9 A; 3 — Silberfibel, Ar 53 C, Grube 99; 4 — Bronzenadel, Ar 4 A; 5 — Bronzenadel, Ar. 56 B; 6 — Eisen-  
 nadel, Ar 28 C/B, Grube 46; 7 — Eisenhaken, Ar 8 B; 8 — Gürtelzunge, Ar 26 A; 9 — Eisensper, Ar 30 A; 10 — Miniaturgefäss, Ar 33 C, Grube 102; 11 — Glasperlen,  
 Ar 28 A/29 D, Grube 50; 12 — Messer, Ar 26 D. Alles natürlicher Grösse.

des rechten Ufers des Flusses Łęg im Südwesten umfasste<sup>51</sup>. Es ist dies eine Gräberfeldergruppe, die im Westen mit den Gräberfeldern des Gebiets der Czarna Hańcza (Suwałki-Gruppe) benachbart war und sich hinsichtlich des Bestattungsritus von der letzteren durch eine im allgemeinen konsequente Anwendung der Leichenverbrennung unterschied. Bezeichnend ist, dass gegen Ende des V. und Anfang des VI. Jh. u. Z. in den beiden aufgezeigten Gebieten eine Vereinheitlichung der Bestattungsformen zu bemerken ist; in beiden Bezirken treten nämlich kollektive Urnenbrandbestattungen in Familienhügelgräbern auf. Diese Vereinheitlichung drückte sich in den gegen Ende des V. und Anfang des VI. Jh. u. Z. eingetretenen Veränderungen im Bestattungsritus auf den östlich der Rospuda gelegenen Gräberfeldern aus, wo die Bestattungsbräuche sich denjenigen der westlichen Nachbarbevölkerung angleichen<sup>52</sup>.

In den südlich der Suwałki- und Węgorzewo-Gołdap-Gruppe gelegenen Gebieten waren dagegen die kulturmäßig verwandten, flachen Gräberfelder (die auch als baltisch zu betrachten sind und wahrscheinlich ebenfalls bei den Sudauern auftraten) dominierend, obwohl auch hier vereinzelt Steinhügelgräber angetroffen werden (Netta, Kreis Augustów)<sup>53</sup>.

Hinsichtlich des typischen Steinhügelgrabs, das für beide Siedlungsgruppierungen charakteristisch ist, muss daran erinnert werden, dass analogisch konstruierte Flachaufschüttungen auch auf manchen Gräberfeldern aus dem I.—III. Jh. u. Z. in Samland auftreten (u. a. in Chrustolnoje — früher Wiekau<sup>54</sup>, in Szlakalki, Regeny, Espenhain)<sup>55</sup>; diese Hügelgräber werden als Relikte der hier vorher in monumentaler Gestalt auftretenden Hügelgrabform betrachtet. Flache Steinhügelgräber befinden sich auch in manchen Gegenden der noch wenig erforschten, jenseits der Memel liegenden Gebiete des heutigen Litauens<sup>56</sup>. Dagegen ist

<sup>51</sup> Repräsentative Gräberfelder wurden vor mehreren Jahren in Okrasin, Grunajki, Boćwinka, Boćwinka Nowa (Fundstelle I und II), Czerwony Dwór (Kreis Gołdap) sowie in Pietraszki und Ruska Wieś (Kreis Elk) u. a. erforscht. Vgl. J. Jaskanis, *Badania wykopaliskowe w województwie białostockim...*, o.c., S. 112—113.

<sup>52</sup> J. Jaskanis, *Badania wykopaliskowe...* ibidem. Derselbe, *Materiały z kurhanów w Jemielistem i Wólce pow. Suwałki*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, Bd. VII (im Druck).

<sup>53</sup> Wie z. B. in Borzomy, Romoty, Sypitki (Kreis Elk), „Unsere Heimat”, XV, H. 2, 1933, S. 25; XVI, H. 8, 15, 20, (1934), S. 93, 176, 238 u. a. sowie in Judziki, Bargłów, Raczki und Netta (Kreis Augustów). Die mit den letzteren Gräberfeldern verbundene Problematik behandelt in diesem Band M. Kaczyński, *Cmentarzyska okresu rzymskiego na Pojezierzu Augustowskim*.

<sup>54</sup> J. Heydeck, Gräberfeld von Wiekau im Volk Kuckskeberge genannt, „Prussia-Ber.”, Bd. XXII (1900—1904) 1909, Tafel 37 und 38.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. Anmerkungen Nr. Nr. 45—47.

<sup>56</sup> Zum Beispiel von Rudamina, Kreis Lazdijai — W. Antoniewicz, *Wyko-*

für die Gebiete des mittleren und östlichen Litauens ein anderer Hügelgräbertypus charakteristisch, dessen Aufschüttung aus Erde bestand und nur am Ansatz mit Steinen umrahmt war. Ziemlich oft waren die Abhänge der Aufschüttungen mit Steinmänteln bedeckt, die den mittleren Teil freiliessen<sup>57</sup>. Nur in manchen Bezirken des nordwestlichen Weissrusslands, z. B. in der Umgebung von Lida, kommen Gräberfelder aus der Mitte des I. Jahrtausends u. Z. vor, dessen Hügelgräber den westbaltischen ähnlich sind<sup>58</sup>. Die Kulturcharakteristik der ersteren ist aber in meritorischer Hinsicht, wie auch im chronologischen und räumlichen Aspekt, allzu unklar, um direkte Verbindungen zwischen den westbaltischen und den vorhergenannten Gebieten feststellen zu können. Auch der Bezirk von Nord-Podlachien und die Gebiete an dem oberen und mittleren Lauf der Narew haben bisher keine entsprechenden Analogien geliefert. Die Hügelgräber vom Rostoty-Typus stellen kein typisches Kulturelement der hier ansässigen Bevölkerung dar; es sind nämlich ausschliesslich Fürstengräber; und ausserdem unterscheiden sie sich durch allzu viele fremdartige Elemente (Grösse, Konstruktion der Aufschüttungen, allgemeine Charakteristik des Kulturinhalts)<sup>59</sup>. Ihre Angehörigkeit zu der baltischen Bevölkerung ist weiterhin sehr problematisch und strittig, da viele Kulturelemente diese Hügelgräber hinsichtlich ihrer Provenienz mit den Gebieten Masoviens und der niederen Wisła verbinden<sup>60</sup>.

Aus den obigen Betrachtungen ergibt sich, dass die für die Gräberfelder des sudaischen Zwischenflussgebiets der Rospuda und der Marycha charakteristische Grabform nur in westlicher und nordwestlicher Richtung näher verwandte Formen aufweist, d. h. im nordöstlichen Masurengebiet und den weiter gelegenen Gebieten von Samland und Natangien. Die letzteren liefern die ältesten Formen. Manche Hügelgräberfelder der Siedlungsgruppe Węgorzewo-Gołdap, die einen Mittelplatz ein-

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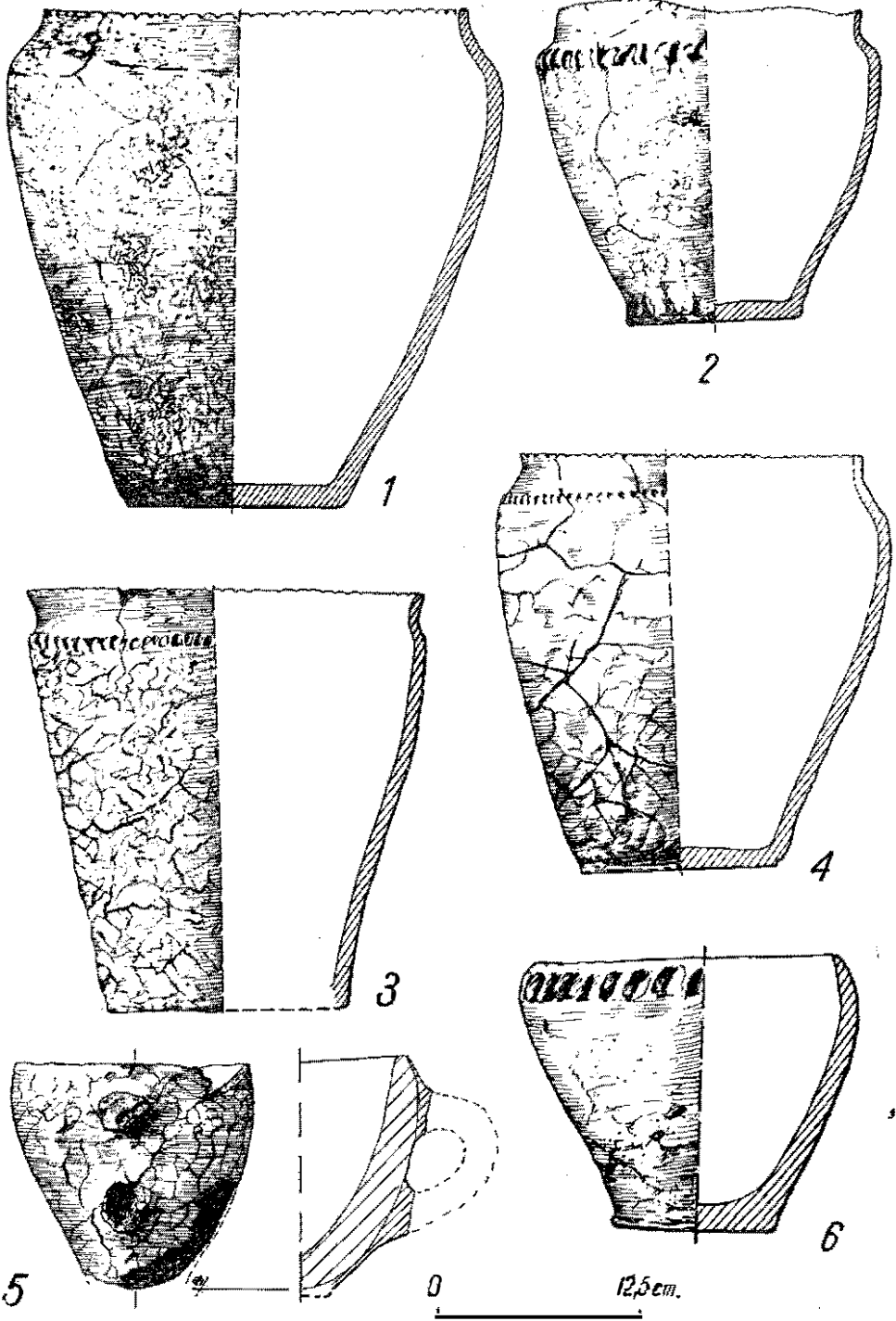
paliska z kurhanu późnorzymskiego we wsi Urdomin w powiecie kalwaryjskim, gub. suwalska, „Przegląd Archeologiczny”, Bd. II (1919) 1920, S. 141—142 Delnica und Liepynai rej. Kapsukas—M. Alekkaite-Gimbutienė, Die Bestattung..., o.c., S. 77—78, 80—81, 185, 193.

<sup>57</sup> A. Tautavičius, Vostočnolitovskije kurgany..., o.c., S. 130; F. D. Gurevič, Drevnosti Bełoruskogo Ponemania, 1962, S. 57.

<sup>58</sup> Zum Beispiel Mickańce—W. Szukiewicz, Poszukiwania archeologiczne w powiecie lidzkim gub. wileńskiej, „Materiały antropologiczno-archeologiczne i etnograficzne”, Bd. XIII (1910), S. 62—63, Wersoka—F. D. Gurevič, Drevnosti..., o.c., S. 151—152 und die dort zitierte ältere Literatur.

<sup>59</sup> J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań kurhanu w Kuraszewie pow. Hajnówka przeprowadzonych w 1961 r., „Rocznik Białostocki”, Bd. IV (1963), S. 323—340.

<sup>60</sup> J. Jaskanis, Badania archeologiczne w województwie białostockim..., o.c., S. 114—118.



## OSOWA, KREIS SUWAŁKI, FUNDSTELLE II

1—2—aus der keramischen Einlage stammende Gefässe, Ar 12 B, Grube 1 A; 3—Ar 7 D; 4—Ar 8, Grube 12; 5—Ar 55 C; 6—Ar 7 D. Nr. Nr. 1—4 und 6— $\frac{1}{2}$ , natürlicher Grösse; Nr. 5—natürlicher Grösse.

nimmt, stammen aus früheren Zeiten, z. B. Okrasin (I.—II. Jh. u. Z.)<sup>61</sup> und Rominty (II.—III. Jh. u. Z.)<sup>62</sup> Im II. Jh. u. Z. entstand auch das bekannte Gräberfeld in Grunajki<sup>63</sup>. Etwas später — ungefähr Anfang des III. Jh. u. Z. — erschien die Form eines Steinhügelgrabs im Suwałki-Gebiet und wurde dort bis zum VII. Jh. u. Z. einschliesslich angewandt. In der späten Römischen Periode traten Hügelgräber mit Steinaufschüttungen auch im Gebiet am oberen Lauf des Flusses Łęg auf<sup>64</sup>.

Die obige Analyse des Bestattungsritus bei den Sudauern vom Gebiet der Czarna Hańcza zeigt Aehnlichkeiten dieses Bezirks mit anderen westbaltischen Gebieten auf, und zwar sowohl in Bezug auf die Bestattungsform, als auch hinsichtlich der Gräbertypen. Aus unseren Erwägungen ziehen wir die Schlussfolgerung, dass das behandelte Gebiet mit dem benachbarten, nordöstlich liegenden Randgebiet des Masurenlandes eng verwandt, indes mit Samland und Natangien indirekt verbunden war. Dagegen zeigt der sudauische Bestattungsritus keinerlei gemeinsame Elemente mit den Bestattungsbräuchen im masurischen Seegebiet und in anderen benachbarten Bezirken. Da der Bestattungsritus als einer der Faktoren zu betrachten ist, der die Durchführung ethnischer Identifizierungen im archäologischen Material ermöglicht, sind wir geneigt, aus den obigen Feststellungen den Schluss zu ziehen, dass die Suwałki-Gegend und die nordöstlichen Masurengebiete im I. Jahrtausend u. Z. von zwei Stammgruppen der Sudauer (*sensu lato*) bewohnt waren, die sich hinsichtlich des Bestattungsritus unter dem inspirierenden Einfluss von Samland und Natangien befanden<sup>65</sup>. Die Verbindungen mit Samland konnten auch anderer Natur sein, was durch die günstige Richtung des Laufes der Pregoła — eines natürlichen Verkehrsweges zwischen den Gebieten des Innenlands und Samland — ermöglicht war<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> O. Tischler, Ostpreussische Gräberfelder, „Schriften der physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg“, XIX (1878), S. 237.

<sup>62</sup> A. Bezzenberger, Das Gräberfeld bei Rominten..., o.c., S. 35—36. Auf diesem Gräberfeld haben sich bis zur Forschungszeit keine oberirdischen Aufschüttungskonstruktionen erhalten.

<sup>63</sup> Die Literatur zitiert A. Kamiński, Materiały do bibliografii archeologicznej Jaćwieży od I do XIII w., „Materiały Starożytne“, Bd. I (1958), S. 218.

<sup>64</sup> C. Engel, Die ostgermanischen Hügelgräber bei Reuschendorf Krs. Lyck..., o.c., S. 481 u. a.

<sup>65</sup> Über die eventuellen Stammeinteilungen der frühmittelalterlichen Sudauer siehe J. Nalepa, Jaćwięgowie, o.c., S. 42 ff. Eine weitere Stammgruppierung der sudauischen Völkergruppe bewohnte das Seegebiet von Augustów; vgl. die Bemerkungen von M. Kaczyński, The Cemeteries dating from the Roman in diesem Bd.

<sup>66</sup> Es wäre interessant, die östliche Reichweite der Gräberfelder vom samländischen Typus festzustellen. Leider gehört das Gebiet von Nadroviën zu den sehr wenig erforschten.

Wichtig ist die Feststellung, dass diese Erscheinungen im Bereich des Bestattungsritus wohl auch im frühen Mittelalter auftraten (im behandelten Gebiet — Gräberfelder mit flachen Brandgräbern<sup>67</sup>, dagegen z. B. im östlichen Gebiet Litauens — weiterhin Hügelgräber). Die Versuche, auf Grund von Elementen des Bestattungsritus (von denen als wichtigstes Kriterium die Steinaufschüttung betrachtet wurde) in breitem Rahmen die Raumgrenzen Sudauens im I. und zu Beginn des II. Jahrtausends u. Z. zu bestimmen, scheint uns daher sowohl in meritorischer als auch in methodischer Hinsicht verfehlt zu sein<sup>68</sup>.

IV. Der zweite Bestandteil des Siedlungskomplexes in Osowa — die Siedlung selbst — ist schlecht erhalten. Der Ackerbau hatte eine umso vernichtendere Wirkung, als die Kulturschicht im allgemeinen unscheinbar ist. Meistens ist sie 0,2 bis 0,4 m dick, nur selten 0,6 bis 0,8 m, dies letztere hauptsächlich am Fuss der Abhänge (Ar 8, 9, 13, 14) infolge von Erdbeben, oder in Stellen, wo sich ehemals Erdbeben und Bodenvertiefungen befanden.

Da die Erde bis 0,2—0,35 m tief durchgeackert war, bestand keine Möglichkeit, innerhalb der Kulturschicht die Raumbauung der Siedlung zu bestimmen. Zusätzliche Schwierigkeiten bot die Bodenbeschaffung: oben eine dünne Schicht Schotterhumus, darunter (von der Tiefe 0,3—0,4 m abwärts) Kies mit zahlreichen Steinen, in dessen Oberschicht Ortsteineinregnungen sichtbar waren.

Spuren von Raumobjekten wurden erst nach Exploration der Kulturschicht entdeckt, schon auf gewachsenem Boden. Höher konnte als einziger, eventueller Hinweis die intensivere Farbe der Erde dienen — die im allgemeinen dunkelgrau bis grauschwarz und schwarz war — wie auch eine grössere Ansammlung von Keramik.

Im gewachsenen Boden wurden Umriss von Gruben, Feuerstellen und Pfostenlöchern oberirdischer Gebäude entdeckt. Die letztgenannten, obwohl sehr zahlreich, gaben jedoch nur in wenigen Fällen die Möglich-

<sup>67</sup> Zum Beispiel in Degucie, Żytkiejmy (Kreis Gołdap), Stacze (Kreis Olecko). Die Literatur gibt A. Kamiński an: *Materiały do bibliografii...*, o.c., S. 210, 250, 261. Analogische Gräberfelder gab es wahrscheinlich auch östlich der Rospuda, wo unter den zahlreichen entdeckten und erforschten Hügelgräberfeldern nur frühere auftreten (III.—VII. Jh. u. Z.); die frühmittelalterlichen dagegen fehlen. Auf dem Gräberfeld in Jasudowo — S. Krukowski, „Światowit“ Bd. IX (1912), S. 1—21 sind Hügelgräber vom ostlitauischen Typus repräsentiert.

<sup>68</sup> W. W. Sedov, *Kurgany Jatviagov*, „Sovietskaja Archeologia“. Bd. IV (1964), S. 36—51. Als Beispiel einer beliebigen Wahl und Anwendung von Analogien ist z. B. die Tatsache zu betrachten, dass dieser Autor bei Feststellungen ethnischer und kultureller Natur ein Gleichheitszeichen zwischen die Steinhügelgräber vom Osowa-Typus aus dem III.—V. Jh. u. Z. und die ähnlich konstruierten Gräber vom Anfang des II. Jahrtausends u. Z. setzt, wobei sich die letzteren — etwa 160 km entfernt — in der Umgebung von Brześć befinden.

keit, und auch dann nur konjunktural, die Gebäudestellen zu bestimmen. Bisher kann von 5—6 Gebäuden gesprochen werden. Es wurden auch 80 Vorratsgruben entdeckt, ausserdem 6 grosse Gruben anderer Art sowie viele kleine und flache.

Alle oberirdischen Gebäude waren rechteckig. Der am deutlichsten erhaltene Umriss eines Gebäudes auf dem Ar 14 A/C war durch 8 Pfosten aufgezeigt — 4 zu jeder Seite, proportionell eingeordnet. In der Mitte einer der kürzeren Seiten (der östlichen) war die Spur eines Pfostens sichtbar. Es gab aber nichts dergleichen auf der entgegengesetzten Seite. Das Gebäude war 3,4 m lang, 3 m breit; dessen längere Achse hatte die Richtung von Westen nach Osten. Als vertikale Konstruktionselemente dienten eckig oder vollkommen rund bearbeitete Pfosten. Innerhalb dieses Gebäudes wurde keine Spur einer Feuerstelle bemerkt; vielleicht war sie zerstört (Abb. 10).

Auch im nächstliegenden Ar (15) wurden Umrisse zweier Gebäude entdeckt. Eines von ihnen, dessen längere Achse von Südwesten nach Nordosten gerichtet war, besass die Ausmasse  $4,5 \times 3,5$  m und hatte im nordwestlichen Winkel ein Pflaster aus kleinen Steinen von einem Durchmesser bis 1,5 m — wahrscheinlich war es der Rest einer Feuerstelle.

Im Ar 9 wurde auch ein Gebäudefragment entdeckt. In dessen Inhalt befand sich u. a. eine bedeutende Menge Keramik und eine Bronzenadel mit tonnenförmigem Kopf und Oeffnung (Tafel V-2). Im Ar 26, in einer Stelle, wo die Kulturschicht ungefähr 0,8 m dick war, wurde ein Teil eines anderen Gebäudes (auch mit Pfostenkonstruktion) gefunden, dessen eine Achse von Südwesten nach Nordosten gerichtet war. Es wurde hier u. a. ein rechtwinkliger, eiserner Beschlag mit Nictöffnungen an beiden Enden gefunden, ein gut erhaltenes Messer mit geradelinigem Klingerücken (Tafel VII-12) und das Fragment eines Mahlsteines.

Von anderen Umrissen muss ein an der Grenze zwischen den Aren 29 und 30 befindliches Gebäude erwähnt werden, mit einem Umfang von  $5,5 \text{ m} \times 3,5 \text{ m}$ , und 9 Pfosten Spuren. In dessen Mitte befand sich eine längliche, flache Grube (Feuerstelle), deren Durchmesser 1,5 m und 0,75 m betragen, ausgefüllt mit schwarzer Brandschutterde. Die längere Achse des Gebäudes war von Osten nach Westen gerichtet.

Zu den am häufigsten in der Siedlung repräsentierten Objekten gehören Vorratsgruben mit kreisförmigem Grundriss, in den gewachsenen Boden etwa 1,5 m unter die Erdoberfläche und sogar tiefer — bis 1,8 m — eingegraben. Es wurden deren 80 entdeckt. Fast alle repräsentieren denselben Vertiefungstypus mit vertikalen Seitenwänden und flachem Boden (Abb. 6). Im Aufriss zeigen sie eine ziemlich reiche Stratigraphie, an der die aufeinanderfolgenden Benutzungsphasen abzulesen sind: dunkle

und intensiv schwarze Erdschichten, mit organischen Ueberresten vermengt, sind voneinander durch helle Kiesschichten getrennt; diese Schichten sind durch Abbröckelung der lockeren Wände entstanden, was bei einem so unkompakten Boden, ohne jegliche Verstärkung (z. B. durch Lehmanstrich) naturgemäss erfolgen musste. Der obere Teil dieser Gru-



Abb. 6 Osowa, Kreis Suwałki, Fundstelle II. Querschnitt der Vorratsgrube 91.

ben ( $\frac{1}{3}$  bis  $\frac{1}{2}$  der gesamten Grubentiefe) war in der Regel mit einer Schicht kompakter Schwarzerde ausgefüllt. In diesem Inhalt traten häufig Körner — meistens waren es Getreidekörner — Fragmente von Keramik und ganze Gefässe, Tierknochen und Fischreste auf. In vielen Gruben wurden Körner auf allen Höhenstufen entdeckt, ausser natürlich den Schichten von gewachsenem Boden; es kam aber auch vor, dass Körner nur auf manchen Niveaus gefunden wurden. Dies scheint zu beweisen, dass die Gruben funktionell hauptsächlich mit der Aufbewahrung von Getreideprodukten in Zusammenhang standen, obwohl sie auch öfters zu anderen Zwecken gebraucht wurden, u. a. auch als Abfallgruben; dies geschah besonders in den Fällen, wenn die Gruben beim Leeren ihres Inhalts teilweise zugeschüttet wurden. Auf diese Weise lässt sich auch die Tatsache erklären, warum in den Gruben keramischer Bruch





Abb. 7 Osowa, Kreis Suwałki, Fundstelle II. Fragmente von Gefäßen im oberen Teil der Grube 46.



Abb. 8. Osowa, Kreis Suwałki, Fundstelle II. Keramische Einlage am Boden der Grube 1 A, Ar 12 B.

und Konsumtionsabfälle (Tierknochensplitter, Fischreste — Abb. 7) angetroffen werden.

In manchen Gruben, z. B. in den Nummern 1 und 1 A, wurden Fragmente von dickwändigen Gefässen auspräpariert (Tafel VIII 1-2), die flach am Boden lagen und auf verschiedenen Höhenstufen eine Art keramischer Einlage bildeten (Abb. 8). Andere Gruben hatten einen natürlichen Boden, der aus einer Schicht von dicht anliegenden Steinen bestand; diese, zusätzlich mit Lehm bestrichen, bildete einen kompakten und dauerhaften Boden. In einigen Gruben gab es auch künstliche Steineinlagen; jedoch diese zum Schutz des Bodens dienende Einrichtung trat ziemlich selten und in vereinzelt Stellen auf. In dem Grubeninhalte befanden sich auch Fragmente von Lehmewurf in Form von unbestimmten Klümpchen; manchmal aber bildete der Lehmewurf kompakte Schichten — vielleicht waren es eingestürzte Konstruktionsteile aus der oberen Partie der Grube (z. B. in den Gruben Nr. 45 und Nr. 35). Der obere Teil der Grube Nr. 3 besaß eine rechtwinklige, steinerne Einfassung rings um den Grubenrand. Wahrscheinlich waren es die Ueberreste einer Konstruktion, welche zum Schutze der Grubenöffnung diente.

Im Inventar vieler Gruben sind solche Gegenstände nennenswert wie Fragmente von Nadeln und Glasperlen. In einer der Gruben wurden 31 Glasperlen gefunden, teils mit Goldfolie, teils emailliert und aus mattem Glas (Tafel VII-11). Darunter befand sich auch ein profiliertes Fibelbuckelchen, wie sie an den Federachsenenden bei Fibeln mit umgeschlagenem Fuss im III.—IV. Jh. u. Z. vorkommen. In drei Gruben wurden ganze Bronze- und Eisennadeln oder deren Fragmente gefunden (Tafel VII-1, 6). Aus der Grube Nr. 99 stammt eine in sehr gutem Zustand erhaltene silberne Sprossenfibel mit hohem Nadelhalter (Tafel VII-3).

Eine interessante Gruppe von Objekten unbekannter Bestimmung bildeten grosse Gruben, im Plan oval, 3 bis 4 m lang, 2 bis 3,5 m breit, in den gewachsenen Boden etwa 1,4 m unter der Erdoberfläche vertieft (Abb. 9). Den Durchschnitt dieser Gruben charakterisiert ein halbovaler oder halbkreisförmiger Umriss, den längs des Randes und am Boden eine dünne Schicht intensiv schwarzer Erde deutlich sichtbar macht. Die Gruben sind mit hellem Schotter (er ist dem Schotter aus gewachsenem Boden ähnlich) ausgefüllt. Meistens bildet einer der seitlich gelegenen Grubenteile eine umfangreiche Ansammlung von Schwarzerde, die mit der im Restteil des Objekt gelegenen dünneren Schwarzerdeschicht verbunden ist. Diese Gruben erwecken den Eindruck, als seien sie plötzlich mit Kies aus gewachsenem Boden verschüttet worden. Meistens befindet sich darin kein Kulturinhalt. Wahrscheinlich dienten sie als Feuerstellen unbekannter Bestimmung.

Die letzte Objektengruppe bilden verschiedene Gruben in Form von flachen Vertiefungen, deren horizontale Grösse unterschiedlich ist (von 0,5 m bis 2 m), und deren Inhalt meistens keine Anhaltspunkte für eine nähere Bezeichnung ihrer funktionalen Ausnutzung bietet. Manche von ihnen enthielten keramische Scherben und Tierknochenreste, was darauf



Abb. 9. — O s o w a, Kreis Suwałki, Umriss einer Vorratsgrube Ar 14/9c.

hinweist, dass diese Vertiefungen als Abfallgruben dienten. Manche, wie z. B. die Grube Nr. 7, wurden als Feuerstellen gebraucht; genauer gesagt waren es kleinere Oefen, von deren äusseren Lehm- und Steinmänteln nur Reste geblieben sind; ihre Konstruktion ist nicht klar.

Interessant ist das paleobotanische- und Knochenmaterial. Das erstere stammt ausschliesslich von Gruben, die als Vorratsgruben bezeichnet wurden. Es besteht aus ganzen Körnern, auf Grund deren die Getreide-

arten festgestellt werden konnten, sowie aus beschädigten Fragmenten. Alle waren verkohlt, da sie, in dem Grubeninhalt liegend, keinen genügenden Luftzutritt hatten. Die Analyse der aus 41 Gruben stammenden Funde, die in den Jahren 1962—1964 erforscht wurden<sup>69</sup>, erwies, dass darunter vier Arten Weizen (*Triticum vulgare*, *Triticum dicoccum*, *Triticum compactum*, *Triticum spelta*) repräsentiert waren, sowie Gerste (*Hordeum vulgare*). Vermutlich sind auch Spuren von Roggen (*Secale cereale*), von Unkraut (*Bromus secalinus*, *Polygonum convolvulus* und anderen), von Erbsen (*Pisum sativum*) und von Haselnussschalen gefunden worden. Den ersten Platz belegt in diesem Material der einfache Weizen (*Triticum vulgare*), den fast 1000 Exemplare aus 38 Gruben repräsentieren, sowie Gerste (*Hordeum vulgare*), von der ebensoviele Exemplare in 33 Gruben gefunden wurden. Die reichsten Funde stammten aus zwei Gruben: Nr. 35 B (137 identifizierte Weizenkörner und 120 Gerstenkörner) und Nr. 33, in der 103 Weizenkörner und 115 Gerstenkörner festgestellt wurden. Die anderen Gruben lieferten von einigen bis hundert Stück Körner. Andere Weizenarten waren in ähnlichen Zahlen repräsentiert, wobei bemerkenswert ist, dass die Weizenarten *Triticum dicoccum* und *Triticum compactum* in einer fast gleichen Grubenzahl vorkamen (20 und 21), dagegen der Weizen *Triticum spelta* nur in 10 Gruben. Roggen war im allgemeinen nur durch einzelne Exemplare repräsentiert, die zusammen aus 13 Gruben stammen. Häufiger traten Körner des *Bromus secalinus* auf (in 19 Grubenkomplexen). In 22 Gruben wurden Erbsen festgestellt (*Pisum sativum*); dabei ist zu betonen, dass sie zusammen mit den Getreidekörnern in denselben Schichten lagen. Aus den obigen Betrachtungen folgt deutlich, dass im Getreideanbau der einfache Weizen und die Gerste den Vorrang hatten, andere Weizenarten dagegen eine geringere Rolle spielten. Bemerkenswert sind auch Spuren des Anbaus von Hülsenpflanzen. Problematisch dagegen bleibt immer noch die Frage des Roggenanbaus; auch Hirse wurde nicht festgestellt. Die Komponenten des paleobotanischen Materials sind ziemlich charakteristisch. Das Vorkommen von *Bromus secalinus*, auch ein solches Signal wie das Auftreten von Roggen, haben wohl eine grosse Bedeutung, diese Feststellungen scheinen die Vermutung zu unterstützen, dass in den stabilisierten Ackergebieten der Boden mit Hilfe von Gespannen bestellt wurde<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Die Analysen des paleobotanischen Materials wurden von Mgr. W. Kosacka vom Biologischen Institut der Medizinischen Akademie in Białystok durchgeführt.

<sup>70</sup> J. Antoniewicz, Zarys pradziejów powiatu suwalskiego, „Studia i Materiały do dziejów Suwalszczyzny”, Białystok 1965, S. 35. Ackerbau in der Umgebung der nicht weit entfernten Szwałcaria in der Römischen Periode und in späteren Zeiten wurde durch palynologische Analysen festgestellt: J. Stasiak, Badania nad starożytnym krajoznazem..., s.c., S. 30 u. a., Tafeln I—III. Auch die in der

Auch gefundenes Grabmaterial deutet auf den Gebrauch von entsprechendem Gerät <sup>71</sup>.

Was die Analyse von Tierresten anbetrifft, so umfasste diese lediglich die Funde eines Forschungsjahres <sup>72</sup>. Es wurden Knochenreste von Rindvieh, Schweinen, Ziegen-Schafen und (in geringer Menge) von Pferden festgestellt. Wilde Tiere waren durch Biberzähne, Rehknochen und Hirschhorn repräsentiert. Unter den identifizierten Fragmenten kommen am häufigsten Knochen von Kühen (43<sup>0/0</sup>), von Schafen-Ziegen (36<sup>0/0</sup>) und von Schweinen (0,17<sup>0/0</sup>) vor. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass weitere Forschungen diese Proportionen ändern werden, doch die Analyse des Knochenmaterials nach Tierarten gibt schon jetzt eine Ahnung davon, welche Tiere von den Bewohnern der Siedlung in Osowa gezüchtet wurden.

Die bisherigen Betrachtungen über das Verhältnis zwischen Landwirtschaft und Viehzucht bei den im Gebiet der Czarna Hańcza im I. Jahrtausend u. Z. lebenden Sudauern waren in hohem Grade spekulativ <sup>73</sup>. Man betonte den Vorrang bald einer, bald der anderen Wirtschaftsform und versuchte, die eventuellen Proportionsänderungen deren Anteils an der allgemeinen Produktion in verschiedenen Besiedlungsphasen zu bestimmen. Dagegen kann diese Frage nur auf Grund von weiteren Forschungen — darunter sind auch Analysen des zoologischen und botanischen Materials gemeint — beantwortet werden. Das Gräbermaterial gibt Anhaltspunkte zur Feststellung, dass die Viehzucht tatsächlich eine grosse Bedeutung hatte, da sie eine wichtige Rolle in der Symbolik des Bestattungsritus spielte. Oft werden in den Bestattungsgruben Schädel von Schweinen, Schafen-Ziegen und ganze Pferdeskelette gefunden. Berechtigt ist wohl die Annahme, dass die Viehzucht, deren Bedeutung beträchtlich war, durch den sich immer mehr entwickelnden Ackerbau er-

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Siedlung von Osinki durchgeführten Forschungen erwiesen eine grosse Menge von Getreidepflanzenresten, die sich in analogen Vorratsgruben befanden wie in der Siedlung in Osowa. Siehe J. Okulicz — beide Berichte in „Wiadomości Archeologiczne“, Bd. XXVII, S. 82—89 und Bd. XXIX, S. 193—209. Ein Teil des paleobotanischen Materials wurde von A. Kościk, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne“, Bd. XXIX, S. 210—213 publiziert.

<sup>71</sup> Zum Beispiel das „Grab eines Landwirts“ aus Szwańcaria (Kreis Suwałki) — J. Antoniewicz, Odkrycie grobu rolnika jaćwieskiego z narzędziami produkcji z okresu rzymskiego, „Rocznik Białostocki“, Bd. III (1963), S. 205—223.

<sup>72</sup> Diese Bezeichnung stammt von Dr S. Serwatka vom Institut für Tieranatomie der Landwirtschaftlichen Hochschule in Warszawa.

<sup>73</sup> J. Antoniewicz, Wyniki dotychczasowych badań starożytnego osadnictwa jaćwieskiego w dorzeczu Czarnej Hańczy, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne“, Bd. XXV (1958), S. 16; J. Okulicz, Sprawozdanie z badań przeprowadzonych w 1958 r. na osadzie pod „Zamczyskiem“..., o.c., S. 88.

gänzt wurde. Einen wichtigen Umstand bildete dabei die Tatsache, dass sich die Viehzucht wegen des meistens unfruchtbaren Bodens besser lohnte<sup>74</sup>. Der bereits untersuchte Teil des in Osowa erlangten Materials, nach Tierarten analysiert, erweist einen bedeutenden Anteil von Rindviehknochen, was indirekt auch als Beweis von landwirtschaftlichen Beschäftigungen betrachtet werden kann; es wurden darin auch Knochen von Schafen-Ziegen und Schweinen gefunden, deren Zucht besonders günstig war. Dieselbe proportionelle Zusammensetzung wurde auch in anderen baltischen Siedlungen festgestellt, z. B. in Aukštadvaris — Litauen (Ende des I. Jahrtausends v. u. Z. bis zur Römischen Periode), was auf eine allgemeinere Bedeutung der von uns untersuchten Erscheinungen hinweist<sup>75</sup>.

Die bisherigen Forschungen im Bereich der Siedlung in Osowa umfassten einen verhältnismässig geringen Teil ihrer Fläche — kaum 3.000 m<sup>2</sup>, wobei die Gesamtfläche der Siedlung (schätzungsweise auf Grund von Untersuchungen der Oberfläche des Geländes berechnet) vermutlich 3 bis 4 ha beträgt. Die 1—2 Are breiten Graben im südöstlichen Siedlungsteil lieferten interessante Einzelheiten über den Innenplan der Siedlung.

Die entdeckten Bauelemente bedeckten ziemlich dicht die untersuchte Fläche und konzentrierten sich in vier Gruppierungen; jede von ihnen bestand aus einem Komplex von Vorratsgruben, aus mehreren flachen Gruben verschiedenartiger Bestimmung, aus einer bis zwei grossen Gruben, die mit Kies aus gewachsenem Boden verschüttet waren, und aus einer Anzahl von Pfostengebäuden.

Am besten wurde die auf den Aren 7—9, 13—15 und den nächsten befindliche Gruppierung erforscht; sie umfasste etwa 40 Vorratsgruben, einige zehn andere, zwei grosse Gruben und einige Gebäude. Interessant ist, dass sich die Vorratsgruben dicht nebeneinander befanden; es wurde auch festgestellt, dass manche Gruben unmittelbar neben älteren eingegraben waren und daher wurden manchmal doppelte Gruben oder Komplexe entdeckt, die aus 3—4 Gruben mit gemeinsamem horizontalem Umriss bestanden. Diese Gruben bildeten ein Reihensystem längs der Achse Norden-Süden, das der Einordnung der Hügelgräber auf dem nahen Gräberfeld ähnlich war. Auch hier deutet die Konfiguration des Geländes darauf, dass die Gruben vermutlich in Reihen von Westen nach Osten hin längs des sanften Abhangs der Anhöhe lokalisiert wurden (Abb. 10).

<sup>74</sup> J. Antoniewicz, *Zarys pradziejów...*, o.c., S. 36—38.

<sup>75</sup> M. Paaver, P. Kulikauskas, *Znaleziska kości zwierzęcych z grodzisk i osad z okresu wczesnożelaznego i rzymskiego na Litwie*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, Bd. II, Białystok 1965, S. 267 ff, Tafel 5.

Die Gebäude befanden sich gleich nebenan, seitlich der Gruben, niemals dazwischen. Der 135 m lange, längs der Linie Norden-Süden laufende Graben erwies solch eine Reihenfolge der Objekte: eine Gruppierung verschiedener Elemente im Abschnitt II, dann Spuren von Gebäuden und grossen Gruben mit Brandschutt, die zum nächsten Bezirk der Grubengruppierungen gehörten, eine Ansammlung von Flachgruben, eine Ansammlung von Gebäudespuren, noch eine Ansammlung von kleinen Gruben und schliesslich eine Gruppe von Vorratsgruben. Dies scheint von einer auf gewissen Prinzipien basierenden Raumbewirtschaftung zu zeugen, die darin bestand, dass Objekte von verschiedener Funktion in gesonderten Bezirken konzentriert wurden. Es ist zur Zeit noch verfrüht, die Raumgrösse der einzelnen Wohn- und Wirtschaftsbezirke zu bestimmen; es ist aber zu vermuten, dass ihr räumlicher Umfang unterschiedlich war. Entscheidend war dabei vermutlich die Zahl der Vorratsgruben, die das am häufigsten vorkommende Bauelement bildeten und die — wie es scheint — nicht in allen bisher unterschiedenen Siedlungsbezirken in gleicher Menge auftraten.

Unsere Betrachtungen über die räumliche Einteilung der Siedlung in Wohn- und Wirtschaftsbezirke scheinen eventuell darauf hinzuweisen, dass es dort einzelne, gleichzeitig existierende Gehöfte — Wirtschaften gab. Die besonderen Bezirke können aber auch aus verschiedenen Nutzungsperioden der Siedlung stammen; vielleicht wurde — nach beendeter Ausbeutung der gegebenen Stelle — die wirtschaftliche Zone (Vorratsgruben) in eine andere, weiter gelegene Stelle verlegt, wonach auch andere Baulichkeiten verlegt wurden. Diese zweite Eventualität wäre dadurch zu erklären, dass die tiefen, ziemlich primitiven, im lockeren Boden gebauten Vorratsgruben, deren Wände keine vertikalen Befestigungen hatten, sich für mehrmaligen Gebrauch nicht besonders eigneten und daher wahrscheinlich nur einige Jahre hindurch benutzt wurden.

Angesichts der räumlichen Grubenverteilungsart und des im allgemeinen konsequenten Auftretens aller Elemente der Raumbebauung in den entsprechenden Gruppierungen ist es andererseits ausgeschlossen, in den einzelnen Wohn- und Wirtschaftsbezirken mehr als eine Nutzungsphase zu unterscheiden. Die einleitende Bestimmung der Chronologie des untersuchten Siedlungsabschnitts ist auf Grund von verhältnismässig bedeutenden Mengen an Metallgegenständen möglich; dies sind z. B. Nadeln, Fibeln u. a., die in verschiedenen Bezirken sowohl in der Kulturschicht als auch in einzelnen Objekten entdeckt wurden.

Ein am südlichen und südöstlichen Rand der Siedlung befindlicher Bezirk lieferte einige Bronze- und Eisennadeln, auf Grund deren dieser Bezirk auf die späte Römische Periode zu datieren ist. Zwei Exemplare desselben Typus, von denen eins innerhalb des Gebäudes auf dem Ar 9,

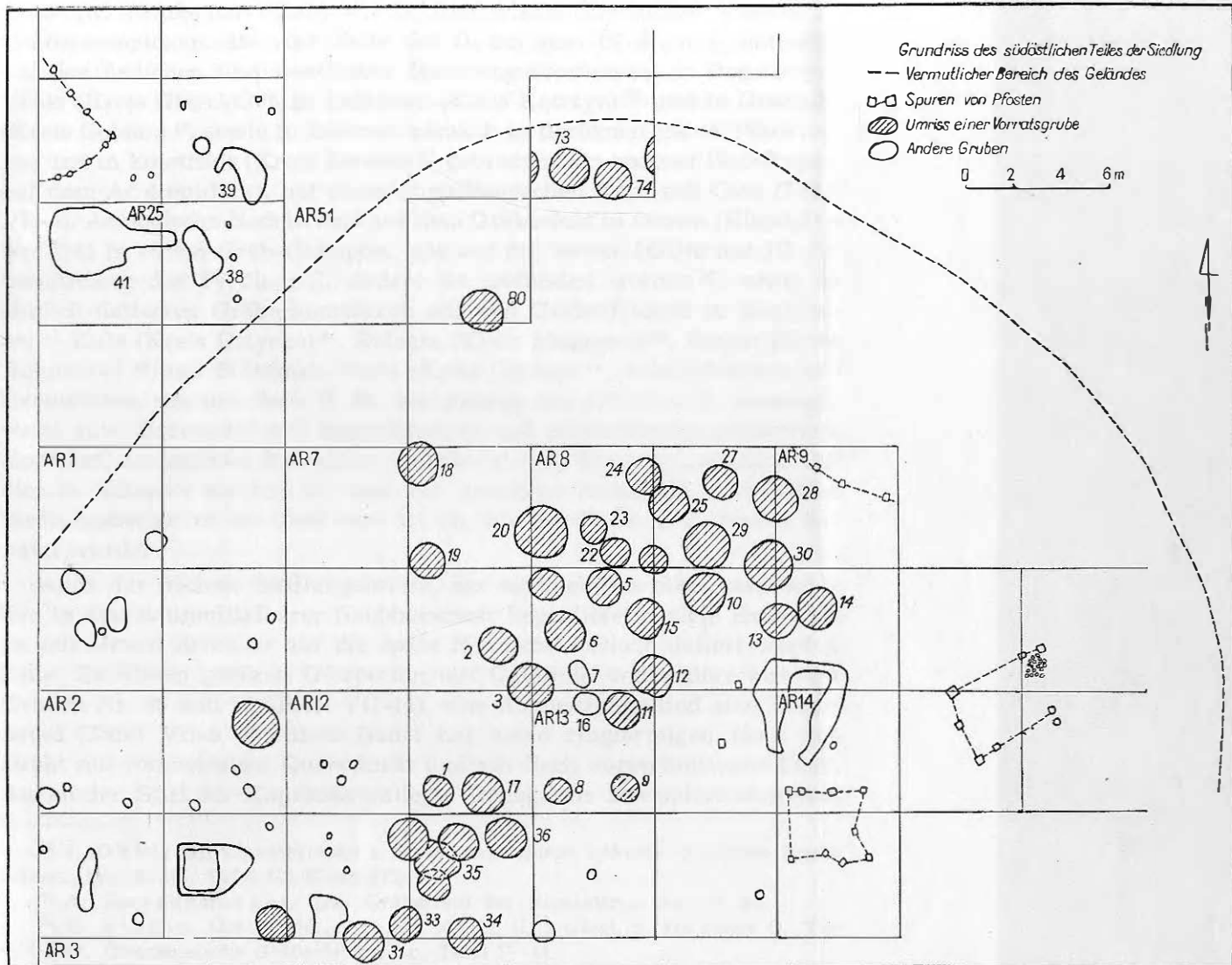


Abb. 10 Osowa, Kreis Suwałki, Fundstelle II. Plan der Verteilung von Objekten im südöstlichen Teil der Siedlung.



das andere im oberen Teil der Grube Nr. 20 gefunden wurde, charakterisiert ein Tonnenkopf mit Oese und ringförmigen Verdickungen an Kopfbasis und Kopfspitze (Tafel VII-1). Analogische Exemplare wurden in Gräberkomplexen, die vom Ende des II. bis zum IV. Jh. u. Z. datieren, auf den östlichen und westlichen Masurengräberfeldern in Bogaczewo-Kula (Kreis Giżycko)<sup>76</sup>, in Leśniewo (Kreis Kętrzyn)<sup>77</sup> und in Grunajki (Kreis Gołdap)<sup>78</sup>, sowie in Litauen, nämlich in Berčiunai (Kreis Poniewieżis) und in Eikotiškis (Kreis Zarasai)<sup>79</sup> gefunden. Ein anderer Nadeltypus, auf dem Ar 4 entdeckt, hat einen doppelkonischen Kopf mit Oese (Tafel VII-4). Analogische Nadeln sind auf dem Gräberfeld in Osowa (Hügelgrab Nr. 114) in einem Gräberkomplex, das auf die zweite Hälfte des III. Jh. bis Anfang des IV. Jh. u. Z. datiert ist, gefunden worden<sup>80</sup>, sowie in ähnlich datierten Gräberkomplexen auf den Gräberfeldern in Bogaczewo—Kula (Kreis Giżycko)<sup>81</sup>, Babięta (Kreis Mrągowo)<sup>82</sup>, Raczki (Kreis Augustów)<sup>83</sup> und Boćwinka Nowa (Kreis Gołdap)<sup>84</sup>. Ähnlichkeiten mit Exemplaren, die aus dem II. Jh. bis Anfang des III. Jh. u. Z. stammen, weist eine Eisennadel mit abgeplattetem und röhrenförmig gestaltetem Kopf auf; analogische Exemplare wurden u. a. in Rominty gefunden. All dies in Betracht ziehend ist man zur Annahme berechtigt, dass dieser Siedlungsbezirk in der Zeit vom III. Jh. bis ins IV. Jh. u. Z. hinein benutzt wurde.

Auch der nächste Siedlungsbezirk, der nördlich des oben besprochenen in dessen unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft liegt, lieferte viele Exemplare, auf Grund deren er auf die späte Römische Periode datiert werden kann. Zu diesen gehören Glasperlen mit Goldfolie und andere aus den Gruben Nr. 46 und 50 (Tafel VII-11), eine Riemenzunge und eine Eisennadel (Tafel VII-6, 8); diese Nadel hat einen ringförmigen Kopf aus Draht mit rhomboidalem Querschnitt und ein flach abgeschnittenes Ende, das an den Stiel der Kopfbasis anliegt. Analogische Exemplare stammen

<sup>76</sup> J. Okulicz, *Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego odkryte w miejsc. Bogaczewo...*, o.c., S. 107, Tafel I-5 (Grab 372).

<sup>77</sup> A. Bezenberger, *Das Gräberfeld bei Rominten...*, o.c., S. 44.

<sup>78</sup> K. Städtler, *Gräberfelder...*, o.c., Bd. XXIII, H. 2 (1919), S. 415 sowie O. Tischler, *Ostpreussische Gräberfelder*, o.c., Tafel IV-14.

<sup>79</sup> Lietuvių *Laudies Menas*, Vilnius 1959, S. 347, Nr. 198—199. P. Kulikauskas, R. Kulikauskiene, A. Tautavičius, *Lietuvos Archeologijos bruožai*, Vilnius 1961, S. 535, Abb. 139-2.

<sup>80</sup> J. Jaskanis, *Wyniki badań cmentarzyska...*, o.c., Bd. VII-10.

<sup>81</sup> J. Okulicz, *Cmentarzysko okresu rzymskiego...*, o.c., S. 88.

<sup>82</sup> W. Gaerte, *Urgeschichte Ostpreussens*, Königsberg 1929, Abb. 171.

<sup>83</sup> W. La Baume, W. Gronau, *Das Gräberfeld v. Raczki, „Altpreussen“*, Bd. V (1941), S. 60, Abb. 12.

<sup>84</sup> O. Tischler, *Ostpreussische Gräberfelder*, o.c., Bd. X-15.

u. a. aus dem Hügelgrab Nr. 56 in Sz wajc ar ia, das auf die Wende des II./III. Jh. u. Z. datiert ist<sup>85</sup>, und aus dem westmasurischen Gräberfeld in Bogaczewo-Kula (Grab Nr. 6, allgemein auf das III. Jh. u. Z. datiert)<sup>86</sup>. Ein anderes Exemplar dagegen — eine Riemenzunge — repräsentiert eine allgemein bei den Balten angetroffene Form, die in der späten Römischen Periode auch im Suwałki — Gebiet auftrat. In Sz wajc ar ia (Kreis Suwałki) wurden analogische Gegenstände in den Hügelgräbern Nr. 15 und Nr. 29 gefunden, die aus dem III. Jh. u. Z. stammen<sup>87</sup>.

Die Chronologie der dritten Bezirksgruppierung wird durch einen vom Ar 30 A stammenden eisernen Knopfsporn mit viereckigem Stachel und kleinem Bügelbogen bestimmt. Im oberen Teil der Grube Nr. 99 wurde auch eine kleine Zweisprossenfibel mit hohem Nadelhalter gefunden. Beide Gegenstände sind für das III. Jh. u. Z. charakteristisch (Tafel VII—3, 9).

Die Gruppierung am östlichen Siedlungsrand schliesslich lieferte ein Fragment eines Eisensorns vom oben beschriebenen Typus, sowie zwei Nadeln, von denen eine im mittleren Teil der Grube Nr. 89 und die andere innerhalb der dünnen Kulturschicht im Ar 56 D gefunden wurde (Tafel VII-1, 5). Im Material, das vom Gräberfeld stammte, befanden sich Exemplare, die mit diesen beiden Nadeln analogisch sind und in Gräberkomplexen aus dem III. Jh. u. Z. (Hügelgräber Nr. 111 und 123) gefunden wurden. Andere analogische Gegenstände werden auf das III. und IV. Jh. u. Z. datiert<sup>88</sup>.

Aus den obigen Erwägungen ergibt sich, dass der erforschte Siedlungsabschnitt aus der späten Römischen Periode stammt, wobei die meisten von den hier aufgezeigten Beispielen Formen repräsentieren, die häufiger von der Wende des II./III. Jh. ab im III. Jh. und teilweise auch im IV. Jh. u. Z. angetroffen werden, was natürlich die Möglichkeit einer etwas späteren Chronologie nicht ausschliesst.

Die anderen Gegenstände — Nadeln, Messer (darunter ein sichelförmiges), Spinnwirtel, bieten keine weiteren Anhaltspunkte zur Präzisierung der Chronologie. In diesem Zusammenhang ist das Problem der Keramik interessant; die Gefässe hatten nämlich verschiedene Formen und waren auf unterschiedliche Art hergestellt. Besonders zahlreich sind grosse, doppelkonische Gefässe mit mehr oder weniger gerauher Ober-

<sup>85</sup> J. Antoniewicz, Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w latach 1958—1960 na cmentarzysku w miejsc. Sz wajc ar ia pow. Suwałki, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXIX-2, S. 177—190, Abb. 4 c.

<sup>86</sup> J. Okulicz, Cmentarzysko okresu rzymskiego..., o.c., S. 87.

<sup>87</sup> W. Gaerte, Urgeschichte Ostpreussens, o.c., Abb. 172 f, 174 f; J. Antoniewicz u. a., „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Bd. XXV, Tafel X-5, XIII-16, XIV-5.

<sup>88</sup> J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań cmentarzyska..., o.c., S. 284—286.

fläche, grob gearbeitet (Tafel VIII, 1–4). Die Bauchkante und der Halsrand sind oft mit Fingerabdrücken verziert; auf dem letzteren befinden sich auch Querriefelungen (Tafel VIII, 2–4). Weniger zahlreich sind Gefäße mit geglätteter Oberfläche. Unter diesen fallen Gefäße von geringer Höhe mit geraden, annähernd zylindrischen Halsen auf (Abb. 11). Völlig analogische Gefäße wurden auf dem Gräberfeld in Osowa in Gräberkomplexen aus dem III. Jh. u. Z. und in ähnlich datierten Gräber-

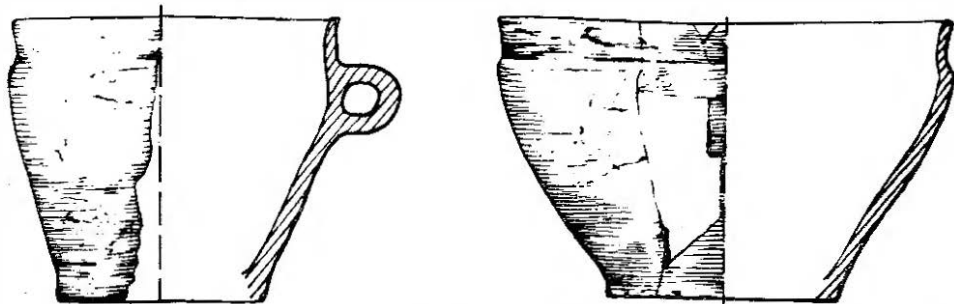


Abb. 11 Osowa, Kreis Suwałki, Fundstelle II. a) — Gefäß aus der Grube 2, b) — Gefäß aus der Grube 8.

komplexen auf dem Gräberfeld in Sz wajcaria gefunden<sup>89</sup>. Zu betonen ist, dass diese Gefäße aus denselben Zeiten stammen wie die vorher erwähnten (gerauhten); ähnliche — auch gerauhte — Keramik wurde in der nicht weit entfernten Siedlung Osinki gefunden, wobei die Exemplare aus den vom Forscher dieses Objekts unterschiedenen beiden Phasen — sowohl aus der ersten als auch aus der zweiten — stammen<sup>90</sup>. Bei Berücksichtigung der Stratigraphie des Materials aus Osowa und der dortigen Keramik scheint solch eine Differenzierung verfrüht zu sein. Interessant ist, dass die Form der Gefäße mit gerauhter Oberfläche und Fingerabdruckverzierungen keine nahen Analogien unter der Keramik des Gräberfel-

<sup>89</sup> J. Antoni ewicz, Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w latach 1958—1960, o.c., Abb. 5. Siehe auch J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań cmentarzyska..., o.c., S. 284, wo weitere Analogien angegeben sind.

<sup>90</sup> Zum Beispiel die Gruben Nr. 27 und Nr. 30; die letztere wird zu einer früheren Phase gezählt. J. Okulicz, Sprawozdanie z badań prowadzonych w 1959 r., o.c., S. 206, wo der zitierte Autor in einer Stelle behauptet, dass der Unterschied „...in Faktur und Form sehr schwer bemerkbar ist. Es sind doppelkonische Gefäße mit zylindrischem (Abb. 14 b, d) oder auseinandergebogenem Rand (Abb. 11, 14 e), die im Masurengebiet und den Suwałki — Gegenden vom II. bis ins VI. Jh. u. Z. hinein sehr verbreitet waren“; in einer weiteren Stelle dagegen befindet sich die Konklusion, dass in der Existenzperiode der Siedlung zwei Phasen zu unterscheiden seien, wobei diese Schlussfolgerung nur auf einem Fund (eine Fibel vom Ende des II. Jh. u. Z.) basiert.

des findet. Die dort auftretenden Gefässe (aus dem V. Jh.) sind stärker profiliert, der Bauchknick befindet sich niedriger, die Ausarbeitung selbst charakterisiert sich dadurch, dass das Gefäss weniger geraucht ist, obwohl die Zusammensetzung des Rohstoffes und die Ausbrennungsmethode dieselben sind (Tafel VI-2, 6, 8, 9 und besonders 5). Die allgemeine Ähnlichkeit jedoch und die ähnliche Ornamentation weisen darauf hin, dass die als Vorratsbehälter gebrauchten Wirtschaftsgefässe die Prototypform für die Kultgefässe bildeten, welche ab Ende des V. Jh. u.Z. beim Bestattungsritus Verwendung fanden (Tafel VI-5). Neben grossen und mittleren Gefässen wurden auch viele kleine gefunden, z. B. Schalen, Henkeltassen, Schüsseln und Miniaturgefässe (Tafeln VII-10 und VIII-5). Die oben angegebenen chronologischen Hinweise zeugen davon, dass die von und in dem erforschten Siedlungsteil unterschiedenen Bezirke eher parallel benutzt wurden oder dass die chronologischen Unterschiede zwischen ihnen gering waren und daher schwer bemerkbar sind.

Das vom Gräberfeld stammende Material gibt Anlass zur Vermutung, dass die Menschengruppe, die das Gräberfeld benutzte, zahlenmässig gering war. Sie zählte etwa 10--20 Personen pro Generation. Bei der Annahme, dass dieser Index auch für die durch die Siedlungsfunde aufgezeigte Situation zutreffen könnte, wäre unter Berücksichtigung der bisherigen Forschungen zu vermuten, dass diese kleine Menschengruppe aus einem bis drei Familienkomplexen bestand, die zur selben Zeit verschiedene Siedlungsbezirke bewohnten und bestimmte, an den gesonderten Reihen erkennbare Teile des Gräberfeldes benutzten. Vielleicht werden wir uns im Laufe weiterer Siedlungsforschungen gezwungen sehen, unsere demographischen Feststellungen zu revidieren; auch unsere chronologischen Annahmen betrachten wir lediglich als hypothetisch, da es durchaus möglich ist, dass das Gräberfeld nicht komplett erhalten blieb, besonders dessen älteste, südliche Hügelgräbergruppierung. Vielleicht sind auch unsere Schlussfolgerungen bezüglich der gleichzeitigen Wirtschaft von einigen Menschengruppen im Bereich des Siedlungskomplexes von Osowa und innerhalb der hier lebenden Menschengemeinschaft verfrüht und die in diesem Zusammenhang formulierte Hypothese, dass die Siedlung aus mehreren Gehöften bestand, vorzeitig. Bisher ist uns noch der Siedlungsteil unbekannt, der auf spätere Zeiten als das IV. Jh. u. Z. zu datieren ist und dessen Benutzungszeit auf die spätere und letzte Bestehensphase des Gräberfeldes fällt. Vermutlich umfasste der derzeitig bebaute Raum den nicht erforschten nördlichen und nordwestlichen Teil der Siedlung. Sollte sich diese Vermutung als richtig erweisen, so wäre hier die Raumentwicklung mit der auf dem Gräberfeld beobachteten analogisch.

V. Die Forschungen im Bereich des Siedlungskomplexes lieferten viel verschiedenartiges Ausgrabungsmaterial, das unsere Kenntnisse über das Leben und die Tätigkeit der früheren Bewohner dieser Gegend und Benutzer der umliegenden Gebiete bereichert. Das erwähnte Material hat auch in bedeutendem Grade das weitere Erforschen der Kultureigenschaften dieses Gebiets ermöglicht, dessen Stammzugehörigkeit und Kulturmerkmale bis vor kurzem unklar waren. Die letzteren zeugen davon, dass dieses Gebiet in kultureller Hinsicht mit den westbaltischen Gebieten verwandt ist. Diese Verwandtschaft zeigt sich sowohl in den Formen des Bestattungsritus als auch in der Richtung von dessen Aenderungen; diese Elemente weisen auf eine dauerhafte Verbindung im Bereich des Kults und in der breiten Sphäre materieller Kultur hin, was aus Grabinventaren und Siedlungsfunden ersichtlich ist. Viele Gegenstände jedoch tragen einen überregionalen Charakter und repräsentieren allgemein-baltische Formen, z. B. Waffen und Reiterausrüstung, Fibeln mit umgeschlagenem Fuss, Nadeln mit tonnenförmigem Kopf oder profilierte, garnrollenförmige Nadeln, Schnallen und Gürtelgarnitur; diese Gegenstände kommen sowohl auf ost- und westmasurischen Gräberfeldern vor als auch in den anliegenden Gebieten Ost- und Mittellitauens. Vom Standpunkt ihres Stils betrachtet weisen aber manche Exemplare, wie z. B. Nadeln mit ringförmigem Kopf (masurischer Typus) auf westlichen Einfluss (Tafel IV-17, VII-6). Zu diesen gehört auch eine Gürtelschnalle mit Doppeldorn — dieser Typus ist oft in den westmasurischen Gebieten repräsentiert (Tafel III-4) — manche Typen von Perlen und Anhängern aus Bernstein (Tafel IV-1, 5, 6), Spiralfingerringe mit gewundenen Enden in Form von Spiralscheiben und andere (Tafel III-7—8). Westbaltische Merkmale weist vor allem die Keramik auf, darunter auch Gefäße mit zylindrischem Hals, die oft mit Henkeln versehen und poliert sind; solche Gefäße kommen auch auf den Gräberfeldern der Hügelgräbergruppe in Gołdap-Węgorzewo vor und auf anderen masurischen Gräberfeldern (Abb. 11 und Tafel VI, 1—4). Eine ähnliche Verwandtschaft im Bereich der Grabkeramik, die besonders deutlich zwischen den Gräberfeldern vom Grunajki—Boćwinka—Pietrasze—Typus (Kreise Gołdap und Węgorzewo) und den Gräberfeldern in Osowa und Umgebung auftritt, ist im V. Jh. u. Z. und in den nächsten Jahrhunderten sichtbar; in diesen Zeiten begannen nämlich als Urnen solche Gefäße benutzt zu werden, deren Ausgangsform grosse gerauhte Vorratsgefäße darstellten, wie sie in der Siedlung angetroffen wurden. Die erwähnten Ähnlichkeiten beziehen sich nicht nur auf die Form, sondern auch auf die Ornamentation und die Herstellungsweise. Dagegen zeugen andere Gegenstände von Verbindungen des Materials aus Osowa mit östlich und

nordöstlich gelegenen Gebieten; unter diesen Gegenständen ist eine Schnalle von seltener Rahmenform zu erwähnen, manche Armringtypen und ein durchbrochener Anhänger, dessen Analogien von Ostlitauen her bekannt sind.

Charakteristisch ist, dass die Mehrzahl der zu den allgemein baltischen Formen gezählten Gegenstände ausschliesslich in der Zone des Masuren—Suwałki—Augustów—Seegebiets und weiter nach Osten hin in Litauen vorkommt; dagegen treten sie im Gebiet Samland—Natangen nicht auf. Dies beweisen besonders die Nadelformen und ausserdem das Auftreten solcher Gegenstände wie Beile.

Andere umliegende Fundstellen lieferten noch weitere Beweise, die dieses interessante Problem illustrieren. Es besteht jedoch kein Zweifel, dass sowohl das Komplex von Osowa als auch das Zwischenflussgebiet der Rospuda und der Marycha überwiegend westbaltische Elemente aufweisen, wobei das häufige Auftreten anderer Elemente nur auf die Grenzlage dieses Gebietes, dieser am weitesten nach Osten hinausragenden altpreussisch-sudauischen Formation, zurückzuführen ist.

In diesem Artikel sind die Ergebnisse unserer zehnjährigen Forschungen im Siedlungskomplex Osowa dargelegt. Manche Entdeckungen, besonders die neueren, sind etwas eingehender besprochen worden; andere, und zwar die den Bestattungsritus betreffenden — etwas summarischer, da dieser Gegenstand schon in anderen Publikationen erörtert wurde. Die in diesem Artikel enthaltenen Schlussfolgerungen und Beobachtungen sind meistens provisorisch; es ist zu erwarten, dass sich präzisere Antworten aus weiteren Forschungsergebnissen ergeben werden. Dies bezieht sich besonders auf das Problem des vermutlichen Vielgehöftcharakters der Siedlung und auf die damit verbundenen Fragen, wie gross die Menschengemeinschaft war, welche die beiden Objekte benutzte, was für eine Organisationsstruktur sie besass und welche chronologischen Rahmen für das Siedlungskomplex zutreffend sind<sup>91</sup>.

Die in diesem Artikel durchgeführte provisorische Konfrontation von Materialien, die aus funktionell verschiedenen, parallel von einer Menschengemeinschaft benutzten Objekten stammen, beweist nochmals, wie lückenhaft manchmal Formulierungen sein können, welche nur auf solchen Quellen basieren, die aus Fundstellen einer Art stammen, wenn diese Formulierungen sich sowohl auf die Grösse als auch auf die gesellschaftliche Struktur der behandelten Menschengemeinschaft beziehen. Die obige Konfrontation bedarf weiterer Forschungen im Bereich des besprochenen Siedlungskomplexes und anderer umliegender Fundstellen.

<sup>91</sup> D. Jaskanis, *Jaćwież*, Białystok 1962, S. 9—10.

Włodzimiera Ziemińska-Odojowa

Olsztyn

EINIGE FORSCHUNGSPROBLEME DES GRÄBERFELDES IN NIEDANOWO,  
KREIS NIDZICA IN MASUREN \*

Im Kreise Nidzica in Masuren sind ungefähr fünfzig, die Besiedelung dieser Gegend seit der Steinzeit bestätigende, Fundstätten vorhanden. Besonders bemerkenswert ist die Anhäufung der Gräberfelder der späten La Tène und römischen Periode im südwestlichen Teile des Kreises, zu welchen auch das Gräberfeld in Niedanowo gehört<sup>1</sup>. Auf dieser Stätte werden Forschungen von dem Museum Mazurskie in Olsztyn und dem Wojewódzki Konserwator Zabytków Archeologicznych seit 1959 geführt<sup>2</sup>. Jetzt nach Verlauf von sechs Grabungssaisons ist eine Fläche von ungefähr 40 Ar, auf der 365 Gräber gefunden worden sind, blossgelegt. Wir

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\* Die monographische Bearbeitung des Gräberfeldes wird erst nach völliger Beendigung der Grabungsforschungen sowie nach einer Reihe spezieller Forschungen möglich sein. Die erwähnten Probleme ergeben sich aus der Einleitungsanalyse des bisherigen Fundmaterials, so dass viele von ihnen, besonders die Sozialfragen, einen Diskussionscharakter tragen.

<sup>1</sup> Die neuste Zusammenstellung von Fundstätten der Nidzica-Gruppe der Przeworsk-Kultur sind von J. Okulicz in seiner Doktordissertation, in der er teilweise die Materialien vom Gräberfelde in Niedanowo ausgenutzt hat, bearbeitet worden; die älteren in: D. Bohnsack, Die Germanen im Kreise Neidenburg. „Altpreußen“ Jhg. 3, (1938) S. 68, Abb. 4

<sup>2</sup> W. Ziemińska-Odojowa, Badania archeologiczne Muzeum Mazurskiego w r. 1959. „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie” Olsztyn 1960, H. 1, S. 150—151; W. Ziemińska-Odojowa, Badania archeologiczne Muzeum Mazurskiego w 1960 r. „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie” 1961, H. 1, S. 152—154; W. Ziemińska-Odojowa, Badania archeologiczne na cmentarzysku ciałopalnym w Niedanowie pow. Nidzica, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie” 1961, H. 4, S. 624—625; W. Ziemińska-Odojowa, Wstępne sprawozdanie z badań w roku 1962 na cmentarzysku z okresu późnolateńskiego i rzymskiego w Niedanowie pow. Nidzica (st. 2), „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, 1962, H. 4, S. 820—823; W. Ziemińska-Odojowa, Komunikat z badań archeologicznych przeprowadzonych w latach 1963—1964 na cmentarzysku z okresu późnolateńskiego i rzymskiego w Niedanowie pow. Nidzica, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, 1964, H. 4, S. 559—560.

nehmen an, dass diese Fläche ein Drittel des ganzen Gräberfeldes darstellt. Dieses Gräberfeld ist vom I. Jahrhundert v. Zw. bis V. Jahrhundert n. Zw. von einer in dieser Gegend sesshaften Menschengruppe benutzt worden. Penetrations- und Sondiergrabungen bestätigten bis jetzt nur eine spätere, frühmittelalterliche und mittelalterliche Besiedelung. Das jetzige Dorf Niedanowo, ungefähr  $\frac{1}{2}$  Kilometer in der Richtung nach Norden von dem Gräberfelde entfernt, kommt in den Urkunden seit dem XIV<sup>3</sup>. Jahrhundert vor. Die Entdeckung und Erforschung einer mit dem Gräberfeld chronologisch verbundenen Siedelung, könnte vom methodischen Standpunkt eine bessere Wiederherstellung der in dieser Gegend herrschenden sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse jener Zeit ermöglichen. Vorläufig stehen uns zur Verfügung nur einseitige Quellen, die Grabgüter, die von einer Ritusgemeinschaft und indirekt von der Stärke und sozialen Struktur der untersuchten Menschengruppe zeugen<sup>4</sup>.

Besonders wichtig für die soziale Deutung des Gräberfeldes in Niedanowo ist die Entdeckung einer Regelmässigkeit der verschiedenen Formen der Leichenfeier und der Grabausstattung. Auf Grund der bisherigen Materialien war auf diesem Gräberfelde der Leichenbrand üblich. In der Gesamtzahl der 365 entdeckten Gräber sind nur 4 von denen Skelettgräber. Den Leichenbrand muss man also als den herrschenden und die Skelettgräber als sporadischen Brauch anerkennen. Eine ähnliche Erscheinung beobachten wir in dieser Zeitperiode im Bereich der Przeworskultur, auf deren Nordgrenze, wo sie mit den baltischen Kulturen zusammenstösst, das in Frage kommende Gräberfeld in Niedanowo liegt<sup>5</sup>. Zu ähnlichen der Przeworskultur Leichenfeiermerkmalen gehören die auf dem Gräberfelde in Niedanowo vorkommenden Urnen- und urnenlosen Brandgräber. Zu den urnenlosen Brandgräbern gehören die einzelnen auf diesem Gräberfeld dicht unter dem Humus hervortretenden Anhäufungen von blossen, Knochen ohne Grabausstattung. Die früheren Versuche, die auf einem Gräberfeld vorkommenden Brandgräberformen mit ethnischen, sozialen und Geschlechtsunterschieden, wie auch mit astronomischen Erscheinungen zu erklären, sind fehlgegangen<sup>6</sup>. Letztens wurde eine Annahme, die dieses Vorkommen mit den Mischehen innerhalb der ein-

<sup>3</sup> W. Kętrzyński, *O ludności polskiej w Prusiech niegdyś krzyżackich*, Lwów, 1928, S. 310.

<sup>4</sup> K. Godłowski, *Studia nad stosunkami społecznymi w okresie późnolateńskim i rzymskim*, Warszawa-Wrocław, 1960, S. 9—13.

<sup>5</sup> A. Kietlińska, *Struktura społeczna ludności kultury przeworskiej*, „*Materialia Starożytne*”, Bd. IX, S. 50.

<sup>6</sup> K. Godłowski, *Niektóre zagadnienia stosunków społecznych okresu późnolateńskiego i rzymskiego w świetle analizy cmentarzysk*, „*Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*”, Bd. III, 1957, S. 304—307.



zelen Stämme zusammenknüpft, hervorgeschoben; jeder Stamm behielt in der Ehe seinen Begräbnisbrauch<sup>7</sup>. Auf dem Gräberfeld in Niedanowo überwiegen die Urnengräber (im Verhältnis ungefähr 2 : 1). Im benachbarten Masovien treten als eine überwiegende Grabform in dieser Zeitperiode die urnenlosen Gräber auf. Eine Zusammenfassung der Materialien von den benachbarten Gräberfeldern wird vielleicht eine Regelmässigkeit dieser Erscheinung feststellen, wie auch eine überzeugende Differenzierung der Leichenfeierformen innerhalb derselben ethnischen Gruppe ermöglichen.

Ein der Przeworsk-Kultur fremdes, für das Gräberfeld in Niedanowo charakteristisches Merkmal sind die mannigfachen Grabsteinformen, welche sowohl mit Leichenbrand als auch mit Körperbestattung verbunden sind. Da das Gräberfeld in beträchtlichem Umfange vernichtet ist, lässt sich nur mit Mühe eine teilweise Rekonstruktion der Gräberfeldfläche erreichen. Bei der Mehrzahl der Gräber ist es nicht mehr möglich, sie mit bestimmten Grabsteinformen in Zusammenhang zu bringen. In dem erforschten Teil trat eine grosse Anzahl von Feldsteinen auf, die bestimmt in der ursprünglichen Form des Gräberfeldes eine Funktion hatten. Nur in einzelnen Fällen gelang es, die Steinkreise im Ganzen oder in grösseren Fragmenten freizulegen. Sie sind von einer idealen Kreisform, befinden sich auf der Oberfläche des ursprünglichen Niveaus des Gräberfeldes und bestehen aus Kreisen gleicher Gestalt und Grösse. Die Steine sind 1 m voneinander entfernt, oder sie liegen dicht an. Die Innenflächen mancher Kreise sind mit einem kompakten Steinpflaster ausgefüllt, so dass sie wie flache Hügel aussehen. Die Durchmesser der freigelegten Kreise betragen von 6 bis 10 m. Alle Arten der bis jetzt gefundenen Kreise sind mit Leichenbrandgräbern (mit oder ohne Urnen) verbunden, wobei die Anordnung der Gräber immer asymmetrisch ist. Auf dem Gräberfeld in Niedanowo kommen auch konzentrische Kreise vor. Teile eines solchen Kreises wurden an einem der beiden dortigen Hügelgräber entdeckt. Die erwähnten Kreise bestehen aus gleichgrossen flachen Steinen. Eine andere Art von Grabsteinen in Niedanowo sind Steinpflaster, welche auf allen Skelettgräbern wie auch auf manchen Leichenbrandgräbern festgestellt wurden. Bei den Skelettgräbern ist die Form des Pflasters mehr einer Grabgrube ähnlich; bei Leichenbrandgräbern sind die Pflaster von verschiedener Form und Grösse. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass manche von diesen Pflastern ebenfalls von Steinkreisen umringt waren. Eine weitere, auf dem Gräberfeld von Niedanowo vorkommende Grabsteinform stellen die Steinpfeiler (*stellae*) dar. Unter flachen Steinen wurden die schon früher erwähnten Knochenanhäufungen ent-

<sup>7</sup> A. Kietlińska, op. cit. S. 58.

deckt. Steine von grösseren Ausmassen bezeichneten die Urnen- und urnenlosen Brandgräber. Manche Steine bedeckten nur teilweise die Grabgrube, andere standen daneben, dicht beim Grabe, was den Eindruck erweckte, deren Anordnung sei später gestört worden. Die auf dem Gräberfeld Niedanowo auftretenden Grabsteinformen sind keine neue Erscheinung in der Problematik der römischen Gräberfelder dieser Gegend<sup>8</sup>. Die im Jahre 1963 auf dem Gräberfeld vom II. und III. Jahrhundert u. Z. in Szczepkowo-Zalesie (ungefähr 1 km südlich von Niedanowo) unternommenen Forschungen brachten manche analogischen Grabsteinformen - Kreise, Pflaster und Steinpfeiler - zum Vorschein<sup>9</sup>. Steinkreise sind mir aus neueren Forschungen in Gródki, Kreis Działdowo, bekannt. Gräber unter den Steinen kommen auch in Nord-Masovien vor<sup>10</sup>.

Aus der Vergleichsanalyse eines ausgedehnten Gebietes ist zu schliessen, das die Grabsteine für das ganze baltische Küstengebiet in der besprochenen Periode charakteristisch sind<sup>11</sup>. Wir finden sie sowohl in Pommern als auch in Sambien. Laut den letzten Forschungen sind manche Grabsteinformen, wie Steinpfeiler und konzentrische Kreise, mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit skandinavischer Herkunft. Dabei kommen aber nur Kultureinflüsse in Frage, und zwar das Durchdringen von Vorstellungen, nicht aber — wie bis jetzt behauptet wurde — ein Eindringen von skandinavisch-germanischen Stämmen<sup>12</sup>. Wie es aus bisherigen Verallgemeinerungen hervorgeht, stellt die Entstehung der Grabsteine ein kompliziertes Problem dar. Die diese Erscheinung betreffenden Materialien aus Niedanowo sind sicherlich ein Zeichen der Uebersiedlung germanischer Stämme nach Süden. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass gegenseitige Berührungen mit germanischen Stämmen stattfanden; diese Kontakte waren aber weder der einzige noch der entscheidende Faktor, der bei der Gestaltung des Kulturpräges der Familienstämme mitwirkte.

Bisher haben wir manche Fragen des Leichenritus auf Grund der für den Archäologen zugänglichen materiellen Erscheinungen, wie Art und Form, erörtert. Dabei muss festgestellt werden, dass diese Erscheinungen eine Endform darstellen. Bis jetzt wurde auf dem Gräberfeld Niedanowo noch kein Platz gefunden, wo der Leichenbrand stattfand. Nur nach dem

<sup>8</sup> D. Bohnsack, Ostgermanische Gräber mit Steinpfeilern und Steinkreisen in Ostdeutschland, „Gothiskandza“ 2, 1940, S. 22—36.

<sup>9</sup> R. Odoj, Prace wykopaliskowe na cmentarzysku z okresu rzymskiego w Szczepkowie-Zalesiu, pow. Nidzica w r. 1962, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie“, 1962, H. 4. S. 824—827.

<sup>10</sup> A. Kietlińska, op. cit. S. 50.

<sup>11</sup> J. Kmiecinski, Zagadnienie tzw. kultury gocko-gepidzkiej na Pomorzu Wschodnim w okresie wczesnorzymskim, Łódź, 1962, S. 107.

<sup>12</sup> ibidem S. 101—103.

Grade des Durchbrennes der Knochenreste kann man über die Art und Menge des für den Scheiterhaufen gebrauchten Holzes und indirekt über die Wetterbedingungen Schlussfolgerungen ziehen<sup>13</sup>. Ein grundsätzlicher Prüfstein, der auf der Basis von archäologischen Quellen Schlussfolgerungen über Sozialverhältnisse ermöglicht, ist in erster Linie die Grabausstattung. Als integraler Teil des Leichenritus auf dem Gräberfeld in Niedanowo sind die Grabbeigaben zu betrachten, die aus verschiedenartiger Keramik bestehen. Man kann manche typische Formen dieser eigens für den Leichenritus hergestellten Keramik bestimmen, und zwar sind es Aschenurnen und Beigefässe. Ausser Keramik wurden in das Grab Werkzeuge wie Messer, Nadeln, Pfrieme, Spinnwirtel, auch mannigfacher Schmuck, Kleidungsstücke und Käämme heineingelegt. Die Grabausstattung auf dem Gräberfeld in Niedanowo ist gleichartig und ausgesprochen charakteristisch für Frauenbestattungen. In den bis jetzt in Niedanowo entdeckten Gräbern wurden keine deutlichen Männergräbermerkmale (Kriegerattribute wie Speerspitzen, Schwerte, Schilde und metallurgische Werkzeuge) gefunden<sup>14</sup>. In einigen Gräbern wurden Sporen festgestellt. Laut der neuesten Zusammenstellungen der Grabmaterialien von den Gräberfeldern der Przeworsk-Kultur, kommen Sporen auch in Frauengräbern vor<sup>15</sup>. In den letzten Grabungssaisons (1964--1965) wurden auf dem Gräberfeld in Niedanowo Schlossteile und Schlüssel gefunden. Es sind aber weder Werkzeuge noch Schmuck; man nimmt also an, dass diese Gegenstände aus Kästen herkommen, in denen das Gruppeneigentum aufbewahrt wurde. Man muss feststellen, dass Schlüssel und Schlossteile als Frauengräberattribute auf den römischen Gräberfeldern des behandelten Gebietes nicht allgemein vorkommen. Aus der Zusammenstellung der Materialien ergibt sich, dass diese Gegenstände einer Anzahl von Generationen entsprechen, die die untersuchte Menschengruppe repräsentieren. Die erwähnten Gegenstände schildern die Eigentumsbegriffe und sind ein Beweis für die exponierte Stellung der Frau, die höchstwahrscheinlich die Mutter oder Ehefrau des Stammältesten gewesen war. Absolute Merkmale der Frauengräber sind Spinnwirtel und Glasperlen. Auf dem Gräberfeld in Niedanowo kommen Spinnwirtel allgemein vor. In manchen Gräbern wurden zwei oder mehr (bis fünf) von diesen mit der Weberei verbundenen Gegenständen gefunden. Besonders Glasperlen treten in einer reichen Auswahl auf; sie sind von verschiedenartiger Form, Farbe und Grösse.

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<sup>13</sup> J. Szydłowski, *Obrządek pogrzebowy na Górnym Śląsku w okresie rzymskim*, Bytom 1964, S. 82.

<sup>14</sup> A. Kietlińska, *op. cit.* S. 29--33.

<sup>15</sup> *ibidem* S. 41.

Bei der bisherigen Bestimmung des Geschlechtes auf Grund der von den Gräberfeldern stammenden Quellenmaterialien, wurde die Methode der traditionellen Teilung der Beschäftigungen zwischen Mann und Frau unter Berücksichtigung von Analogien aus gegenwärtigen primitiven Völkern angewandt. Diese Methode gibt die Möglichkeit, die Störungen in der Einteilung von Männer- und Frauengräbern auf einem Gräberfeld zu beobachten. Es wurde schon früher in dem Schrifttum eine bedeutende Anzahl von Kriegergräbern erwähnt, die man durch Kriegsvorkommnisse zu deuten versuchte<sup>16</sup>. Eine regelmässige Territorialeinteilung des Gräberfeldes in ein männliches und ein weibliches ist der Przeworsk-Kultur fremd. Solch eine Einteilung ist eine sehr seltene Erscheinung und tritt nur auf vier von den mir bekannten Fundstätten an der äussersten Grenze der Przeworsk-Kultur auf<sup>17</sup>. Auch das Gräberfeld in Niedanowo ist zu diesen zu zählen. Der weibliche Charakter des erforschten Teiles des Gräberfeldes in Niedanowo wurde auf Grund der traditionellen Bestimmung des Geschlechtes durch anthropologische Untersuchungen der durchgebrannten Knochenreste (vorläufig aus 150 Gräbern) festgestellt<sup>18</sup>. Die Anwendung einer neuen anthropologischen Forschungsmethode bei der Untersuchung von Knochenresten aus den Brandgräbern ermöglichte die Feststellung des Alters der auf dem Gräberfeld in Niedanowo begrabenen Frauen. Für Niedanowo beträgt ihr Alter durchschnittlich kaum 34 Jahre. Anthropologen sehen einen Zusammenhang zwischen dieser Erscheinung und einer beträchtlichen Sterblichkeit durch Geburtsunfälle. Dies bestätigen auch weitere Funde — eine Anzahl von Doppelgräbern, in denen sich eine Frau und ein Neugeborenes befinden.

Das Problem der Einteilung der Gräberfelder nach Geschlecht ist weder aus frühmittelalterlichen, die Gräberfelder betreffenden Urkunden, noch aus dem späteren Schrifttum bekannt. Ich kenne auch keine Erscheinung dergleichen in den gegenwärtigen Kulturen. Von einem männlichen, dem weiblichen zeitgenössischen Teil des Gräberfeldes in Niedanowo zeugt ein Fund aus dem Jahre 1937 (Fundstätte 1) mit einer typisch männlichen Grabausstattung (einschneidiges Schwert, Schildbuckel, Schere und Dolchmesser)<sup>19</sup>. Es ist aber auch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass es dort zwei besondere Gräberfelder gab.

<sup>16</sup> K. Hadaček, *Cmentarzysko ciałopalne koło Przeworska*, „Teka Konserwatorska” T. III. Lwów 1909, H. 2, S. 1—21.

<sup>17</sup> B. Jankowska, *Cmentarzysko z późnego okresu rzymskiego w Warszawie-Kawęczynie*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” Bd. XXIII, H. 4, S. 349.

<sup>18</sup> E. Promińska, *Badania szczątków kostnych z grobów ciałopalnych wydobytych w latach 1959—1960 z cmentarzyska rzymskiego w Niedanowie pow. Nidzica* (Manuskript im Archiv der Archaeologischen Abteilung des Muzeum Mazurskie in Olsztyn).

<sup>19</sup> D. Bohnsack, *Die Germanen...* S. 70—71.

Auf Grund von bisherigen Angaben ist anzunehmen, dass man es in Niedanowo mit einer bestimmten Abart der sozialen Struktur innerhalb der allgemeinen Gesellschaftsordnung auf dem Gebiete von Mitteleuropa (in weiterem Sinne) in der Römischen Periode zu tun hat<sup>20</sup>. Nach beendigten Forschungen auf dem Gräberfeld in Niedanowo müssen wir zu den Ursachen der Entstehung einer Menschengruppe, die mindestens 600 Jahre lang dieses Gräberfeld benutzt hatte, Stellung nehmen. Es scheint, dass diese Gruppe keine Fortsetzung der früher hier herrschenden ostpreussischen Hügelgräberkultur gewesen ist<sup>21</sup>. Man kann aber ein Ueberdauern einiger Elemente dieser Kultur nicht völlig ausschalten.

Wir müssen gleichfalls zu der Auflösung dieser Gruppe Stellung nehmen; als Zeichen dieser Auflösung ist die Tatsache zu betrachten, dass die Bestattungen nach dem V. Jahrhundert u.Z. nicht fortgesetzt wurden. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Auflösung einer gesellschaftlichen Einheit durch die allgemeine Entwicklung einer grösseren Menschengruppe verursacht wird<sup>22</sup>. Die Anhäufung von Gegensätzen auf dem Gräberfeld in Niedanowo scheint eben ein Beweis dafür zu sein. Sicherlich hatte die peripherische Lage dieser Menschengruppe — an der Grenze der nördlichen und südlichen Kulturen — dazu beigetragen<sup>23</sup>. Die mit dem Gräberfeld verbundenen Forschungsprobleme werden die Frage des Verhältnisses und der Gegensätze zwischen den Stämmen der Przeworsk- und der Baltischen Kultur, die in dieser Periode die ausgedehnten Gräberfelder in West- und Ostmasuren benutzten, zum Vorschein bringen<sup>24</sup>. Als eine Fortsetzung der späteren Besiedlung können die aus dem VI.—VIII. Jahrhundert u.Z. stammenden Fundstätten der Masurischen Kultur im Kreise Olsztyn, im westlichen Teil des Kreises Szczytno und nordöstlichen Teil des Kreises Nidzica, betrachtet werden. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass man es auf diesem Gebiet mit einer Fortsetzung der zur Przeworsk-Kultur gehörenden Nidzica-Gruppe (Neindenburger-Soldanische Gruppe) zu tun liert.

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<sup>20</sup> R. H a c h m a n n, Zur Gesellschaftsordnung der Germanen in der Zeit um Christi Geburt. „Archaeologia Geographica” Jhg. 5, 1956, S. 7—24.

<sup>21</sup> C. E n g e l, Vorgeschichte der altpreussischen Stämme, Königsberg, 1935, Taf. X.

<sup>22</sup> K. G o d ł o w s k i, Studia... S. 107.

<sup>23</sup> J. O k u l i c z, Z zagadnień pogranicza kultur bałtyjskiej i wenedzkiej w okresie rzymskim. „Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji Oddziału PAN w Krakowie” Januar—Juni 1963, S. 48—50.

<sup>24</sup> M. S c h m i e d e h e l m, Niektóre zagadnienia związane z badaniami archeologicznymi zabytków z pierwszych wieków n. e. w zachodniej części Mazur, „Acta Baltico-Slavica” Bd. I, 1964, S. 25—35.



## POLEMICS — LES OPINIONS

*Włodzimierz Szafrąński*

Warszawa

### ÜBER DIE BEFESTIGUNGSSIEDLUNGEN DER FRÜHEISENZEITLICHEN PERIODE IN ALTPREUSSEN \*

Mit wahrer Zufriedenheit soll man das Erscheinen eines neuen, umfangreichen und gründlichen Studiums betreffs der Urgeschichte der ursprünglichen Gemeinschaft auf dem Gebiete der polnischen Länder begrüßen. In den Zeiten der besonderen Intensivität der Forschungen über das polnische Frühmittelalter anlässlich des Tausendjahresfestes des Polnischen Staates, ist es ein Ereignis von Bedeutung. Dieses Studium ist die Dissertation des Dr. Jerzy Antoniewicz über die früheisenzeitlichen Befestigungssiedlungen auf dem in damaligen Zeiten baltischen Gebiete Altpreußens. Der Verfasser dieses eindringlichen Studiums ist ein erfahrener Kenner des erwähnten Problems, welcher mehrere Jahre der Bodenforschungen und zahlreiche Publikationen diesem Thema gewidmet hat. Obiges, ebenso wie eine äusserst sorgfältige und ausführliche Beschreibungsdokumentation des reichlichen, vom Verfasser auf detaillierte Weise analysierten und auf zahlreichen Tafeln graphisch übersichtlich dargestellten Materials, schuf günstige Bedingungen zur richtigen Lösung des vorgehabten Problems. Mit um so mehr Recht, dass der Autor sich in seiner Arbeit die ehrgeizige Aufgabe gestellt hat, die Wehranlagen der antiken Gemeinschaften als archäologische Quelle zu betrachten und auf deren Grund die sozial-ökonomischen Wandlungen der Urstämme und im allgemeinen die Regelmässigkeit des Geschichtsprozesses, welchem die baltischen Stämme unterlagen, zu ergründen.

Wie übrigens jede Arbeit, regt ebenso die beurteilte Dissertation sofort zur Diskussion und Meinungs austausch an. Die erste Angelegenheit, die schon von Anfang an die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zieht, besteht in der Diskussionsfrage über die Chronologie der Anfänge der Befestigungssiedlungen, über den Moment ihres Auftretens. Es scheint mir, dass die vom Verfasser auf den Seiten 15, 16, 160, 173, 201 und 205

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\* J. Antoniewicz, *Osiedla obronne okresu wczesnożelaznego w Prusach, „Swiatowit”*, Bd. XXV (1964). S. 5—211, Tafel I—XLII, und 16 966.

ausgesprochene Ansicht, als ob die Wehranlagen in Preussen schon in der Wende der IV. und V. Periode der Bronzezeit erschienen, nicht die Konfrontationsprobe mit dem durch den Verfasser selbst auf den Seiten 17 und 20 zitierten Beweismaterial besteht und scheint all zu sehr von dem bei uns letztens ausgearbeiteten chronologischen Schema der Wehranlageanfänge in Polen (freilich die neolithischen Wehranlagen nicht inbegriffen) abzuschweifen. Wie es sich aus der Tafel I-a auf der Seite 161 und I-b auf der Seite 162 ergibt, wäre die Befestigungssiedlung in Olsztyn—Hermanowo das einzige so früh datierte Objekt, als Ausnahme unter den am frühesten erst auf die Neige der Halstatt- und vorwiegend auf die La Tène-Periode datierten Objekte. Schon allein die Absonderung dieses Faktums und sein Ausnahmezustand erregt ein Misstrauen betreffs seiner Chronologie. Wir kennen nämlich vom polnischen Gebiet — zuwider manchen Ansichten — überhaupt keine Wehranlage, welche schon vom Ende der Bronzezeit stammen würde. Sie treten erst im späten Hallstatt und sogar vorwiegend in Hallstatt D, nur ausnahmsweise in C, auf. Dies wurde durch folgendes bewiesen: durch die Verifikation der Wehranlagen an der Nieder—Odra<sup>1</sup>, welche laut der Ansicht z. B. von Eggers und Kunkel — geschweige denn die Ansicht mancher polnischen Wissenschaftler — als zur Neige gehende Bronzeobjekte bis jetzt betrachtet werden; durch die Chronologierevision der schlesischen, angeblich spätbronzezeitlichen Wehranlagen, deren Datierung bis zu der Späthallstattperiode verschoben wurde<sup>2</sup>; durch die Bearbeitung der Chronologie der grosspolnischen Wehranlagen<sup>3</sup>. Die archäologische Fundstelle in Olsztyn—Hermanowo ist ein Vielschichtenobjekt (S. 20), auf welchem zwar neben der vorwiegend zahlreicheren spätbronzezeitlichen Keramik dennoch auch die Späthallstatt- (S. 17) und sogar die Früh — La Tène — Keramik (S. 20) hervortritt. Es spricht nichts für die Unbedingtheit der Verbindung der Wehranlagen dieser Siedlung mit der ältesten Phase ihres Daseins in der IV.—V. Periode der Bronzezeit, welche den Moment des späteren dortigen Auftretens der Wehranlage überholen konnte. Deshalb ist sicherer die Siedlung in Olsztyn—Hermanowo auf den späten Hallstatt zu datieren, was übrigens vollkommen mit dem chronologischen Schema nicht nur der polnischen, aber auch der Wehranlagen des preussischen

<sup>1</sup> Wł. Szafrański, Badania na grodzisku w Swobnicy, pow. Gryfino, „Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie”, III, S. 68 und 69. Derselbe, Sprawozdanie z badań na grodzisku w Swobnicy, pow. Gryfino, na Pomorzu Zachodnim w 1957 r., „Sprawozdania Archeologiczne”, X, S. 46.

<sup>2</sup> K. Tackenberg, Die Burgen der Lausitzer Kultur „Praehistorische Zeitschrift”, XXXIV—XXXV (1949—1950), S. 25 und 26.

<sup>3</sup> T. Malinowski, Grodziska kultury łużyckiej w Wielkopolsce, „Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses”, V. S. 33.



Gebietes übereinstimmt. Das analogische Auftreten einer früheren offenen Siedlung vor der Wehranlage bereits auf der Neige der Bronze-epoche kenne ich aus eigener Beobachtung des in der Ortschaft Swobnica, Kr. Gryfino, in Westpommern erforschten Objektes<sup>4</sup>. Meine Suggestion ist vollkommen durch die vom Autor auf Seite 163 angeführte Chronologie eines anderen Objektes bestätigt. Es handelt sich hier um die Befestigungssiedlung in Ostrów, Kr. Węgorzewo, welche mit voller Präzision auf Grund der Pollenanalyse auf die Wende der Hallstatt- und der La Tène-Periode datiert ist. Ein reichlich gefundenes spätbronzezeitliches keramisches Material, welches die Chronologie dieser verhältnismässig spät datierten Wehranlage nicht im geringsten beeinflusst hat, verdient eine besondere Beachtung. Analogisch sollte man bei der Datierung der Wehranlage in Olsztyn—Hermanowo verfahren. Die hier gefundene ältere Keramik neben der aus der Hallstatt- und La Tène-Periode übt wahrscheinlich ebenfalls keinen Einfluss auf eine frühe Datierung der Wehranlagen dieses Objektes aus und kann bloss als Bestätigung der „tief eingewurzelten Traditionen des Töpferwerkes der späten Bronzezeit“ dienen, was mit Recht vom Verfasser auf den Seiten 163, 167 und 178 betont ist. Diese Traditionen überdauerten tief bis ans Ende der späten La Tène-Periode, übrigens — was allgemein bekannt ist — nicht nur auf dem Gebiete unseres Landes. Es wäre nicht konsequent das Mitauf-treten spätbronzezeitlicher Kulturelemente samt den späthallstatt- und La Tène—zeitlichen anders im Falle von Hermanowo zu datieren (und zwar auf die frühe Bronzeepoche) — und anders (und zwar auf die Wende des Hallstatt und La Tène) im Falle z. B. von Łęczce, Kr. Elbląg, Stary Dzierzgoń, Kr. Moraąg, oder Orzysz, Kr. Pisz. Das Mitauf-treten in Orzysz der Späthallstatt- und Bronzegegenstände zusammen mit der La Tène-Keramik, wie Tutulus und der skythische Ohrring, erinnert an die Anwesenheit der spätbronzezeitlichen Metalle im späthallstattischen Biskupin, was, gegen Erwartung des Prof. Dr Rudolf J a m k a, die Chronologie von Biskupin in die jüngere Bronzeepoche nicht zurückschieben kann. Die vom Autor wahrgenommene Dauer der Bronzeerzeugnisse von der Neige der Bronzeperiode bis an die La Tène, würde ich auf das preussische Gebiet als Spezifikum dieser Region nicht verengern, da sie auch woanders auftritt. Ich habe sie in einer ganzen Reihe von Beobachtungen auf dem Gebiete Grosspolens<sup>5</sup> festgestellt und habe es als Existenzbeweis des als Erbschaft den Nachkömmlingen überlieferten Privat-

<sup>4</sup> Wł. Szafranski, o.c., S. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Derselbe, Sprawozdanie z terenowych badań archeologicznych w Biskupinie, pow. Żnin, na stanowisku 4 (półwysep) w r. 1955, „Sprawozdania Archeologiczne” V, S. 123—125. Derselbe, Skarby brązowe z epoki wspólnoty pierwotnej (IV i V okres epoki brązowej) w Wielkopolsce, Warszawa—Wrocław 1955, passim.

eigentums betrachtet<sup>6</sup>. Ich stimme dabei vollkommen mit dem Autor überein, dass die von ihm wahrgenommenen Fakten gleichfalls auf das bisherige unvollkommene chronologische Schema deuten und weitgehende Änderungen<sup>7</sup> darin postulieren, worüber letzters bei uns immer öfters die Rede ist.

Man muss mit Loyalität gestehen, dass der Verfasser im Falle Olsztyn—Hermanowo die Existenz einer offenen Siedlung auf der Neige der Bronzezeit vorbehaltlich annimmt. Leider aber vergisst er darüber in seinen synthetischen Erörterungen, indem er die Befestigungssiedlung zu früh datiert.

Beim Referieren der deutschen Forschungen in Stary Dzierzgoń, Kr. Morağ, informiert uns der Autor über die Unentschlossenheit der Entdecker bei der Abbildungsprobe des ursprünglichen Wallbaues auf der dort gefundenen Wehranlage. Im Profil des Wallquerschnittes (Taf. V) ist mir die Ähnlichkeit mit dem analogischen Wall der Wehranlage aus der Hallstatt D—Periode in Swobnica, Kr. Gryfino, in der Umgebung von Pyrzyce an der Nieder-Odra<sup>8</sup>, aufgefallen. Bei der Rekonstruktionsprobe des von mir aufgegrabenen Wallbesatzes nutzte ich die freundliche Konsultation des Professors Wilhelm Unverzagt aus Berlin, eines erfahrenen Kenners des Wehranlageproblems, welcher die Autopsie und den Beruch des erwähnten Objektes unternommen hat, aus. Es ergab sich dabei, dass die Profilquerschnitte der beiden Wälle eine Konvergenz, beinahe eine Identität aufweisen. Sie haben nämlich die gleiche, ca 2,0 M. betragende Breite und, wie es scheint, genau dieselbe Struktur. Ihr Kern besteht aus einem Haufen von konform mit der Wallrichtung länglich übereinander gelegten Tragbalken. Dieser Haufen ist von aussen und innen der Siedlung mit den in gewisser Weite von einander eingeschlagenen Pfählen gestützt. Unter Berücksichtigung dieser ausdrucksvollen Gleichzeitigkeit der beiden Befestigungssiedlungen, kann man — wie es mir scheint — die Analogie des Wallbesatzes aus Swobnica bei der Probe der Wallrekonstruktion in Dzierzgoń ausnutzen und ohne grösseren Risiko einer Hypothese den im erwähnten Profil auftretenden rätselhaften Pfahl m (Taf. V) mit dem Pfahl a. ins organische Ganze einer und derselben Wallkonstruktion verbinden.

Eine kritische Beurteilung der Interpretationsprobe des Wallprofils stösst auf enorme Schwierigkeiten, falls sie auf die graphische Dokumentation des Objektes in Form einer höchst vereinfachten, beinahe schematischen, sehr im Druck generalisierten Zeichnung, übrigens ohne

<sup>6</sup> Derselbe, Znaczenie skarbów brązowych, „Pierwsza Sesja Archeologiczna Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa 5.V.—8.V.1955”, Warszawa—Wrocław 1957, S. 160.

<sup>7</sup> Derselbe, Skarby brązowe..., S. 8—11, wo auch die Fachliteratur.

<sup>8</sup> Derselbe, Sprawozdanie z badań..., Z. 4 auf S. 45.

ausführlicher Legende, wie z. B. das Wallprofil oben auf Taf. VII (S. 38), angewiesen ist. Deshalb wird in diesem Fall die Diskussion sehr erschwert. Nichtsdestoweniger besteht eine andere, als die durch den Autor vorgeschlagene Möglichkeit das Profil abzulesen. Es scheint nämlich, dass dem Pfahl *d* eine winzige Spur des Pfahles *a* entspricht. Der letztere ist nicht gänzlich senkrecht durchgeschnitten und steckt tief in der Wand des Durchschnittees, was die Aufstellung der beiden Pfähleihen nicht gegenüber, sondern wechselweise, im Lichte, bezeugen könnte<sup>9</sup>. Diese Art Konstruktion würde sich keineswegs vom früher beschriebenen, nur im geringsten schmäleren Wallabschnitt unterscheiden. Eine analogische Konstruktion aus der jüngeren Phase, welche ich in dem Pfahlpaar *c* sehe, und der untere Teil des Pfahles *h*, würde der obigen Konstruktion stratigraphisch entsprechen. Eine noch jüngere Wallschicht mit dem rätselhaften Steinkern fand seine Analogie in der durch Dr. Tadeusz Malinowski wahrgenommenen Steinkonstruktion des Wehranlagewalles der Lausitzer Kultur in Słupca (Grosspolen)<sup>10</sup>.

Nebenbei möchte ich beifügen, dass A. Niesiołowska-Hoffmannowa<sup>11</sup> in ihren Studien über das Bauwesen den ungeschickten Terminus „Palisadenwall“ bei Beschreibung der Wehrbefestigungen obiger Art benutzt, während es dort überhaupt keine Spur von Palisade gibt, sondern ein einfaches Schindelbrett auf der äusseren und der inneren Wand oder nur ein Schutzbalken. Man kann deshalb nur von einer Pfahlkonstruktion des Walles als Unterscheidung von der Kistenkonstruktion sprechen, ebenso wie man bei dem Wohnungsbau die Pfahl—von der Gebälk—konstruktion unterscheidet. Eine solche Definition der Wehrbefestigungen mit dem unklaren Termin „Doppelpalisadenwall“ folgt aus der Unkenntnis der strukturellen Funktion ihrer einzelnen Elemente und bezeugt die Meinungsunentschlossenheit der Verfasserin, welche die Palisade entweder als eine Reihe von eng aneinander eingeschlagenen, oder aber von losen, abseits voneinander stehenden Pfählen bezeichnet und dadurch ein Chaos in der Terminologie verursacht<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> T. Żurowski, Uwagi na marginesie „Studiów nad metodami badań warstw kulturowych w prehistorii polskiej” Włodzimierza Hołubowicza, „Światowit”, XX (1949), S. 453—455 und Z. 18 auf S. 456.

<sup>10</sup> T. Malinowski, Dalsze badania osadnictwa ludności kultury łużyckiej wczesnej epoki żelaza w Słupcy, „Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses” XV (1964), S. 143 und 152.

<sup>11</sup> A. Niesiołowska-Hoffmannowa, Ze studiów nad budownictwem plemion kultury łużyckiej, „Slavia Antiqua” X (1963), S. 80—83.

<sup>12</sup> Die Berufung in dem Rahmen der Archäologischen Sektion des Geschichtswissenschaftskomitees der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften einer speziellen Fachsprachekommission ist ein Ausdruck der Sorge über die Terminologiekorrektheit in unserer Wissenschaft angesichts des in dieser Hinsicht sich ausbreitenden Chaos und der immer mächtiger werdenden Unverantwortung.

Die äusserst sorgfältige und eindringliche Erforschung des Autors auf dem interessanten Siedlungskomplex in Jeziorko, Kr. Giżycko, ist von grosser Bedeutung. Die Feststellung auf Grund des archäologischen Materials der deutlichen und unzweideutigen, genau datierten Tätigkeitsspuren eines kleinen Produktionskollektivs, welches in zwei kleinen Nachbarsiedlungen lebte, von denen die eine sogar eine Befestigungssiedlung war, bereicherte unsere Kenntnisse mit einem neuen historischen Faktum, dessen Konsequenzen für die Forschungen von grosser Wichtigkeit sind. Die Feststellung nämlich eines kleinen, ökonomisch autarken und in sozialer Hinsicht autonomen Produktionskollektivs bedeutet den Zerfallprozess der Urstammgemeinschaft und die Absonderung aus einer grossen Gemeinschaft oder Familie der einzelnen, ökonomisch selbständigen, patriarchalen, kleinen Familien, wo einige Generationen in einer Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft zusammen leben. Dieser Prozess wird in Hallstatt D auch in Grosspolen auf Grund des von dem Gräberfeld in Gorszewica, Kr. Szamotuły, stammenden Materials beobachtet. Dasselbe wurde im preussischen Gebiet auch gegen Ende der Periode Hallstatt D, bzw. etwas später, auf der Neige von Hallstatt und La Tène wahrgenommen und bestätigt mit voller Ausdrücklichkeit und Plastik die Regelmässigkeit des Geschichtsprozesses auf den weiten polnischen Geländen in der zweiten Hälfte des letzten Jahrtausendes vor u. Ära. Diese Forschungen lokalisieren deutlich in Zeit und Raum einen der wichtigsten Geschichtsmomente der Urgemeinschaft, präzisieren bedeutend die Periodisation der polnischen Urgeschichte und bringen ihrem Schema konkrete Materialbeweise. Im Falle des Siedlungskomplexes in Jeziorko handelt es sich Dr. J. Antoniewicz „vor allem um die Existenzbestätigung einer chronologischen Folge zwischen dem einen und dem zweiten Siedlungsglied“ (S. 119). Der Verfasser lässt die Möglichkeit zu, dass im Siedlungskomplex Jeziorko die eine, und zwar die Befestigungssiedlung, älter als die andere ist. Es scheint mir, dass er in diesem Falle sich all zu sehr der Suggestion dieser Meinung fügt, welche betreffs des ähnlichen Siedlungskomplexes in Biskupin geäussert wurde, welche aber noch der Diskussion unterliegt und welche ich persönlich anderswo bestreite<sup>13</sup>. Meiner Ansicht nach ist das Auffinden der Spuren dieser Zeitnachfolge der einzelnen Siedlungsglieder in Jeziorko nicht durchaus notwendig, da das vom Autor vielseitig und genau analysierte archäologische Material dazu nicht berechtigt. Der Verfasser stellt nämlich äusserst richtig fest, dass „der bisherige Forschungszustand... die älteren und die jüngeren Elemente im Zeitraum einer Periode subtil auszusondern nicht

<sup>13</sup> Vergl. Wł. Szafrański, Jeszcze o badaniach na stanowisku 6 w Biskupinie, *pov. Znin*, „Księga Pamiątkowa ku czci prof. dr Włodzimierza Hołubowicza“ (im Druck).

erlaubt, man kann also nicht feststellen, welches von den Besiedlungsglieder älter im Verhältnis zu dem anderen ist" (S. 119). Die Tatsache, dass die Befestigungswälle in Jeziorko auf reinem Grund erbaut worden sind (S. 197), schliesst keineswegs die Mitexistenz beider Siedlungen, der offenen und der Wehranlagesiedlung, aus. In dieser Sachlage steht nichts dagegen, die beiden Besiedlungselemente als gleichzeitig zu betrachten, zumal sie durch das Zweiphasenzeichen der Besiedlung verbunden sind, was ebenso in der Siedlung am Fusse des Hügels, wie auch auf dem Gipfel der Wehranlage bemerkbar ist. Der Verfasser wollte eine solche Schlussfolgerung vermeiden, da er durch die Ansicht des Professors Zdzisław Rajewski beeinflusst ist (S. 200 und 201), dass „die einzigen Stellen der beständigen Besiedlung auf diesem Gebiete die Wehranlagen sind und in den Zeiten ihrer Benutzung es keine anderen, offenen Anlagen im Bereiche der Ökumene der Wehranlangebwohner gab“<sup>14</sup>. Es existiert jedoch eine kontroverse Wissenschaftstheorie, nämlich die des Professors Wł. Hołubowicz, welche dasselbe Problem anders auffasst und zwar: dass „in den Zeiten der Burgwälle auf dem Gebiete der Lausitzer Kultur die Besiedlung nicht nur in den Mauern der Wehranlagen geschlossen war; es existierten auch Ansiedlungen von verschiedener Wohlhabenheit“<sup>15</sup>. Dr. J. Antoniewicz scheint sich dessen bewusst zu sein, wenn er auf S. 200 und 201 über offene Siedlungen, die nahe bei den Befestigungssiedlungen gelegen und ständig bewohnt waren, schreibt. Es scheint mir, dass das archäologische Material aus der von mir erforschten Späthallstattanlage auf dem Posten 6 in Biskupin<sup>16</sup> die Richtigkeit dieser Ansicht des Prof. Wł. Hołubowicz bestätigt. In der oben erwähnten Arbeit habe ich die Gleichzeitigkeit der ärmlichen offenen Ansiedlung auf Posten 6 in Biskupin mit der reichen Befestigungsanlage auf der Biskupiner Halbinsel auf Grund solch eines chronologischen Kriteriums, wie das Fragment eines Bronzehalsbandes der pommerischen Kultur und die Spuren einer Überschwemmung, die auf ca das Jahr 400 v. u. Ä. durch den auf der Halbinsel gefundenen Eisen-schatz datiert ist, bewiesen. In Ergebnis einer eingehenden Analyse der erwähnten datierenden Kriterien nebst dem Gesamtbild der anderen Beobachtungen, konnte man genau die Dauerzeit der Lausitzer-Ansiedlung auf Posten 6 präzisieren, sie als Altersgenossin der Lausitzer-Wehranlage auf der Halbinsel ansehen und obige Hypothese, welche die Möglichkeit der Koexistenz der beiden Besiedlungskomplexelemente

<sup>14</sup> Z. Rajewski, Osadnictwo ludności z kulturą „łużycką” we wczesnym okresie epoki żelaznej w Biskupinie i okolicy, „Archeologia Polski”, II (1958), S. 23.

<sup>15</sup> Wł. Hołubowicz, Garncearstwo wiejskie zachodnich terenów Białorusi, Toruń 1950, S. 104.

<sup>16</sup> Wł. Szafranski, o.c., passim.

ausschliesst, bestreiten. Das Beispiel einer offenen, der Wehranlage auf der Halbinsel zeitgenössischen Ansiedlung auf Posten 6 widerspricht der These über einen gänzlichen Mangel der ständig bewohnten, offenen, mit der Wehranlage zeitgenössischen Siedlungen, und erlaubt eine ähnliche Situation der Koexistenz beider Elemente des Besiedlungskomplexes in Jeziorko wahrzunehmen.

Was die Funktion der offenen Siedlung im konkreten Fall von Biskupin anbetrifft, so erlaubt eine Reihe von Voraussetzungen eine ärmliche Siedlung darin zu sehen, welche von den patriarchalischen<sup>17</sup>, während der Raubanfalle oder des gegenseitigen Anfahrens der Stämme in Gefangenschaft geratenen und vorwiegend mit der Viehzucht beschäftigten Sklaven bewohnt war. Im Falle von Jeziorko dagegen würde es genügen, in der Siedlung am Hügelfusse einfach das Symptom der dynamischen Entwicklung einer wachsenden und sich vergrössernden patriarchalischen Familie anzusehen.

Bei der Konfrontation der beiden erforschten Objekte (Jeziorko und Biskupin) würde ich kein Spezifikum (S. 120) des baltischen Gebietes im Verhältnis zum slawischen Territorium der Lausitzer Kultur sehen und wäre vielmehr geneigt, in Form und Inhalt analogische Anzeichen des gleichen Prozesses sozial-ökonomischer Strukturänderungen in der Urgemeinschaft, die regelmässig und ohne Unterschied auf den beiden Gebieten verliefen, darin zu erblicken. Deshalb wären die Spuren der früheisenzeitlichen Besiedlung unmittelbar am Fusse der Befestigungsanlagen kein Spezifikum des preussischen Gebietes, sondern eine Analogie mit der ähnlichen Situation in dem Lausitzerkulturgebiet, welche mir z. B. aus Biskupin bekannt ist. Übrigens braucht man solche Analogien nicht weit zu suchen, da man auf dem Gebiete Preussens selbst Befestigungsanlagen samt offenen zeitgenössischen Siedlungen begegnet, wie z. B. in Starzykowo Małe, Kr. Susz, sogar fünf Anlagen (S. 133), und in Łęczce, Kr. Elbląg (S. 138), obwohl im ersten Beispiel die Gleichzeitigkeit der beiden Siedlungen nicht mit voller Sicherheit festgestellt werden kann.

Es ist äusserst charakteristisch, dass die für das baltische Gebiet so typische, längere, sogar bis tief in die La Tène-Periode reichende Dauerhaftigkeit der Befestigungssiedlungen zusammen mit der entsprechend älteren im Vergleich mit dem slawischen Gebiet Absonderung einzelner Familien hervortritt. Dies könnte als Kennzeichen der Regelmässigkeit des Geschichtsprozesses betrachtet werden und eine geringe Tempo-

<sup>17</sup> Diese Interpretation würde durch die wertvolle Äusserung des Prof. Dr. Włodzimierz Antoniewicz gerechtfertigt sein, welcher von den patriarchalischen Sklaven in Biskupin in seiner Arbeit, *Problem rozkładu wspólnoty pierwotnej na ziemiach Polski*, „Pierwsza Sesja Archeologiczna...“, S. 127 und 130, deutlich schreibt.

verspätung der Systemänderungen auf dem baltischen Gebiete, in den Grenzen von ca. hundert Jahren bis event. einigen Jahrhunderten, bezeugen. Die kleinen, auf dem preussischen Gebiet damals auftretenden Befestigungssiedlungen könnten als Beweis der Absonderung der einzelnen kleinen Familien von der grossen Familiengemeinschaft betrachtet werden. Sie sind vom Verfasser in diesem Aspekt der progressiven Entwicklung eingehend charakterisiert worden. Zu dieser Art Objekte wurden vom Autor, ausser Jeziorko, Kr. Giżycko, mit 5—8 Behausungen, und Orzysz, Kr. Pisz, mit 6 Behausungen, folgende Objekte zugerechnet: drei etwas jüngere Befestigungssiedlungen in Rybno, Kr. Mragowo, mit höchstens einigen 10—15 Behausungen, Starzykowo Małe, Kr. Susz, mit 8 Behausungen, und Łęcze, Kr. Elbląg, auch mit wenigen Behausungen, wo auch Eisenschlacke entdeckt wurde, was auf die hier betriebene Metallproduktion deutet. Diese Einzelheit verdient eine spezielle Betonung, da sie den Zerfallmechanismus der grossen Familiengemeinschaft zeigt, aus welcher sich in erster Reihe die kleinen Familien der Metallurgen, deren Qualifikationen ihnen eine wirtschaftliche Selbständigkeit garantierten, absondern.

Das Zahlenverhältnis zwischen den fünf kleinen und den zehn grossen Befestigungsanlagen unter der Gesamtzahl der 15 ausführlich vom Autor bearbeiteten Objekte ist höchst ausdrucksvoll. Es ist zu bedauern, dass der Autor seiner Arbeit keine Karte der preussischen früheisenzeitlichen Befestigungsanlagen beigelegt hat.

Seine eingehenden Erwägungen über die ökonomischen Grundlagen der früheisenzeitlichen Stämme in Altpreussen beginnt der Autor mit der Feststellung, dass „die auf dem Sumpf-Wiesen- und Seegrund lebenden Menschengruppen eine andere wirtschaftliche Basis und andere Lebensbedingungen als diejenigen auf den Einbuchtungen der waldlosen Hochebenen besaßen“ (S. 182). Es scheint mir aber, dass die subtile Analyse, welche mittels des Spezifikums der geographischen Mikroregionen den richtigen, dem Milieu entsprechenden Wirtschaftstypus feststellen will, nicht imstande ist das Axiom von dem allgemeinen Übergewicht der Tierzucht über dem primitiven Ackerbau umzustossen, da der letztere bei Anwendung der damals dem Menschen zugänglichen Produktionsmittel im Gegensatz zu der Viehzucht einen Produktionsüberschuss noch nicht liefern konnte. Als Beweis zitiere ich nachstehendes Beispiel. Indem der Autor über total mit Wäldern bewachsene Hochebenen schreibt, wo, seinem Gedankengang gemäss, das Übergewicht der Ackerbauwirtschaft zu erwarten wäre, erwähnt er einige für dieses geographische Milieu typische Anlagen, und zwar: Łęcze, Tolkmicko und Stary Dzierzgoń. In diesen Ortschaften aber wurden deutliche Spuren der Metallproduktion (S. 194 und 195) entdeckt, welche — wie der Autor

in der Beilage 353 richtig betont — auf Grund des importierten Rohstoffes sich entwickelte. Es ist für mich klar, dass zwecks Erlangung auf dem Umtauschwege des zur Metallproduktion notwendigen Rohstoffes, die Bewohner der erwähnten Anlagen über das Äquivalent in Form eines Produktionsüberschusses verfügen mussten, welchen ihnen ausschliesslich nur die Viehzucht und keinesfalls der Ackerbau liefern konnte. Unterdessen liegen die erwähnten Siedlungen auf den Gebieten, auf welchen, laut der Ansicht des Verfassers, der Ackerbau vorherrschen sollte. Das Übergewicht der Viehzuchtwirtschaft scheint in jeder Situation unbestreitbar zu sein. Ich muss mit Loyalität darauf bestehen, dass der Autor selbst — obwohl er seinen Standpunkt als einen Kompromiss in diesem Streit bezeichnet — sich deutlich zur These des Übergewichtes der Viehzuchtwirtschaft neigt, indem er mit vollkommenem Recht über ihre starke Entwicklung schreibt und es auf der Seite 184 speziell betont.

Die durch den Autor in seiner hier besprochenen Arbeit durchgeführte Charakteristik der damaligen Viehzuchtwirtschaft und die Betonung ihres Zusammenhanges mit den Befestigungssiedlungen ist im allgemeinen äusserst richtig. Vielleicht würde ich hier nur zufügen, dass das Vieh unter freiem Himmel damals nicht nur „bis zum Moment, wenn der Schnee die Weiden bedeckte“ (S. 183), sondern den ganzen Winter hindurch bleiben konnte. Laut dem Zeugnis des Stanisław Poniatowski<sup>18</sup>, „hielten die Bewohner Weissrusslands in der Gegend von Minsk noch gegen Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts Vieh, welches ihr Futter von winzigen Ästchen im Walde zu suchen gezwungen war, in offenen Verzäunungen den ganzen Winter hindurch“. In dieser Sachlage fällt überhaupt das Argument vom Mangel an grösseren Viehunterkünften<sup>19</sup> in den Befestigungsanlagen ab, worauf die Gegner der Ansicht über Viehzucht als ökonomischer Base des Auftretens der Befestigungsanlagen in den Urgesellschaften hartnäckig bestehen. Es scheint mir, dass das innerhalb der Behausungen in Biskupin gehaltene Vieh einfach ein lebendi-

<sup>18</sup> St. Poniatowski, *Etnografia Polski*, „Wiedza o Polsce“, Bd. III, S. 222 und 223.

<sup>19</sup> A. Niesiołowska-Hoffmannowa hat das Problem nicht allzu tief aufgefasst. Ihre Behauptung dass die Befestigungssiedlungen vom Biskupin-Typus infolge des Mangels an grösseren Unterkunftstellen mit der Viehzucht nicht verbunden werden sollen, wird vom Autor kritisch beurteilt (S. 207). Ich erkläre mich mit dieser richtigen Kritik vollkommen einverstanden. Ein so kompliziertes Problem der ökonomischen Grundlagen der Befestigungssiedlungen kann nämlich auf derart vereinfachte Weise nicht gelöst werden. Die Geringschätzung und das Ausserachtlassen eines so wichtigen Problems, wie die Anhäufung des damals einzig und allein durch die Viehzucht gelieferten Produktionsüberschusses, auch durch das Auftreten der Bronzeschätze als seiner sicheren Kapitalanlage bewiesen, kann die wesentliche Funktion der Befestigungsanlagen und die Ursache ihres Entstehens nicht erklären.



ger, unmittelbar zum Schlachten bestimmter Vorrat war, welcher den Fleischbedarf einzelner Familien befriedigen und als Speisekammervorrat betrachtet werden sollte. Es bildet daher lediglich einen bescheidenen Teil der zahlreichen Viehherden, welche — laut den ethnologischen Analogien — einige tausend Stück zählten. Die Zahl der Viehställe in Biskupin hat deshalb, bei dem Versuch den Zahlbestand der enormen Viehherden zu definieren, praktisch keine Bedeutung.

Indem der Autor über die wirtschaftliche Basis der damaligen Stämme spricht, formuliert er äusserst richtig die Meinung „über die stark entwickelte Viehzucht bei den in den Befestigungsanlagen auf dem polnischen Gebiete wohnenden Gemeinschaften — neben der sich entwickelnden Landwirtschaft, welche almählich vom Hau — zum primitiven Hakenflugackerbau übergeht“ (S. 184). Diese Meinung ist jedoch leider durch seinen Vorbehalt verunstaltet, als ob die ökologischen Bedingungen der gegebenen Gemeinschaftsökumene über das Übergewicht der einen von beiden Produktionszweige: der Vieh- bzw. der Ackerbauwirtschaft, entschieden (S. 185). Es wurde unterdessen festgestellt, dass ohne einen Produktionsüberschuss, welcher damals nur von der Viehzucht geliefert werden konnte, weder Befestigungsanlagen, noch die festgestellte Metallurgienentwicklung, ebenso wie der progressive Absonderungsprozess existieren könnten. Es ist auch bekannt, dass sogar die besten Boden- und Klimabedingungen in damaligen Zeiten die Ergiebigkeit des primitiven Ackerbaues nicht derart vergrössern könnten, um nicht nur die Konsumentenbedürfnisse zu befriedigen, aber noch Überschuss zu liefern. Der Produktionsüberschuss in der Landwirtschaft wird erst tausend Jahre später in Zusammenhang mit der weiteren Produktionsentwicklung stattfinden. Deshalb muss die Behauptung (S. 191), als ob die wirtschaftlich schwächeren Befestigungsanlagen die Viehzucht nur für den Bedarf eigener Bewohner getrieben haben, als gewagt beurteilt werden. Obwohl dieser Wirtschaftszweig sehr durch die Viehsuche litt, bedeutet das Bestehen einer Befestigungsanlage allein unbedingt das Vorhandensein eines Produktionsüberschusses, welcher keineswegs durch den Ackerbau verschafft werden konnte, da der letztere mit primitiven Geräten „von geringem Wert in Anbetracht ihrer kleinen Brauchbarkeit und Leistungsfähigkeit“ (S. 184) ausgestattet war.

Der Autor sammelt sorgfältig die Beweise von Metallurgie auf dem Gebiete Preussens, indem er ihre Bedeutung sowohl im Gesamtbild der damaligen Wirtschaft, wie auch im analysierten Problem der Befestigungssiedlungen gehörig schätzt. Das Bronzehandwerk (S. 180) ist wohl nur ein „lapsus calami“ des Verfassers, der ja so um die Terminologiekorrektheit sorgt (vergl. die Angelegenheit der alternativen Terminologie

„Burg“ und „Befestigungsanlage“, die so klar und konsequent auf Seiten 7—9 entschieden worden ist). In der autarkischen Naturwirtschaft nämlich, die ihre Bedürfnisse allein befriedigt, sieht er vielmehr ein Haushandwerk als eine Gewerbeproduktion, welche ihrem Charakter gemäss für den Markt die Ware erzeugt.

Die Intensität des Hervortretens auf dem ganzen preussischen Gebiet (gleichfalls auf dem ostmasurischen, z. B. in Jeziorko) sowohl des Lausitzer Elements, welches sogar nach Litauen, Lettland und Estonien und bis an Finland vordringt (S. 181), wie auch des baltischen Elements auf dem westmasurischen Gebiet, z. B. in Starzykowo Małe, Kr. Susz, hat ihre besondere Aussprache. Im Zusammenhang damit muss die geradezu famose Behauptung des Autors betreffs „eines einzigen ethnischen Massivs der auf dem Gebiete Preussens wohnenden Westbalten“ (S. 180) als eine äusserst wertvolle, schöpferische und fortschreitende Idee angesehen werden. Diesen Westbalten wird vom Autor das ganze Lausitzisch-pommerisch-baltische Kulturkonglomerat zugeschrieben, welches den von uns angenommenen methodologischen Voraussetzungen gemäss, dass ein ethnischer Massiv sich mit mehreren Kulturen legitimieren kann, in diesem geographisch abgesonderten masurischen Rayon lokalisiert ist. Das Vorlegen den damit interessierten Forschern eines so wesentlichen, mit beigefügtem eingehend analysiertem sachlichem Material begründeten Problems erachte ich für die wichtigste, vollkommen schöpferische Erlangung der besprochenen Dissertation.

Äusserst wertvoll sind die Beobachtungen des Verfassers über das mit den Befestigungssiedlungen, oftmals unmittelbar am Fusse der Anhöhe oder gar auf ihr selbst, Mitauftreten der Bronzeschätze (S. 199). Dieses hat seine besondere Bedeutung. Ich habe es weitläufig in meiner, den Bronzeschätzen gewidmeten Arbeit besprochen. Die methodologisch sehr korrekte Auslegung der Funktion dieser Schätze als eines sicheren Zufluchtsortes des Produktionsüberschussäquivalents der sich bereichernden Gesellschaften (S. 199—200) verdient vollkommenen Beifall. Diese reife, schöpferische, fortschrittliche, methodologisch korrekte Formulierung unterscheidet vorteilhaft die Anschauung des Verfassers von den naiven, falschen, in der Literatur herrschenden unreifen Auffassungen.

Ich kann leider mit der Anschauung des Autors, als ob „der Wille einer besseren Beherrschung der Gemeinschaftsökumene eine der Ursachen der Gemeinschaftsteilung in kleinere, selbständige Familienzellen wäre“ (S. 204), nicht übereinstimmen. Ein derartiges Bewusstsein und Orientierung in den Gemeinschaftsinteressen könnten nämlich nur und ausschliesslich die Gemeinschaftsvorgesetzten haben, welche ihre Mitglieder zwecks vollständiger Unterordnung und Ausnutzung von ihrem Willen abhängig machten. Denn es sind gerade diese Gemein-

schaftsältesten, welche den exzentrischen Absonderungstendenzen der einzelnen Familien energisch widerstrebten, da dieses in Konsequenz die Exploitation der abgesonderten, sozial und wirtschaftlich autonomen Familien unmöglich machte. „Der Wille zur besseren Beherrschung der Gemeinschaftsökumene“ würde demnach zum Zerfall der Gemeinschaft nicht beitragen und dies könnte nur infolge innerer Antagonismen, widersprechender Interessen und verbissener Kämpfe der kleinen, exploitierten Familien stattfinden, welche der Willkür der das Gut und den Produktionsgewinn sich aneignenden Gemeinschaftsältesten sich widersetzen<sup>20</sup>.

Deshalb finde ich als mehr treffend und besser formuliert die Äusserung des Verfassers auf Seite 205, dass „der ehemalige Organisationsrigorismus der patriarchalen Gemeinschaften infolge der exzentrischen Wirkungskräfte mit der Zeit schwächer wurde. Diese Kräfte haben viel zum innerlichen Zersprengen vieler Produktionskomplexe und zur Entstehung neuer kleiner Produktionszellen beigetragen, deren zeale Abbildungen die Spuren von kleinen Befestigungssiedlungen besonders aus der La Tène-Periode in Preussen sind“.

Die gewissenhafte Analyse des keramischen Materials aus Stary Dzierzgoń kann als Muster des Forschungsverfahrens bei der Beurteilung des Beweismaterials gelten, auf dessen Grund die Chronologie des Objektes und, im Falle des Auftretens mehrerer Kulturelemente, z. B. des lausitzischen, pommerischen und baltischen — auf sein kulturelles Antlitz festgestellt werden könnten. Die vom Autor angewandte Methode wies etwas sehr interessantes nach, und zwar, dass in der Masse der archäologischen Quellen dieses Objektes „das Lausitzerelement erdrückend ist“. Der unwiderlegbare Charakter der Schlussfolgerung des Autors ist auf skrupulöser Aufzählung der statistischen, all zu oft oberflächlich wahrgenommenen Ereignisse basiert. Die Rechenpräzision schliesst von den Erwägungen des Autors jeden subjektiven Faktor aus und neigt den Leser zur positiven Stellungnahme gegenüber dieser, so fachmässig mit dem analysierten Sachmaterial begründeten Argumentation. Leider muss man den vollständigen Mangel an analogischen, mit derselben Methode bearbeiteten Verzeichnissen betreffs der anderen, ähnlichen und zeitgenössischen Befestigungssiedlungen feststellen. Volkommen begründet und wohl verständlich ist deshalb die Forderung des Autors, den Rückstand in dieser Hinsicht mittels einer Analyse, „welche das kulturelle Antlitz eines jeden archäologischen Postens genau zu präzisieren erlauben würde“, zu liquidieren (S. 79).

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<sup>20</sup> M. O. Koswien, *Historia kultury pierwotnej w zarysie*, Warszawa 1955, S. 305—308.

Der Autor selbst wendet jedoch diese Methode — übrigens aus verschiedenen Gründen — nicht in jeder Spannweite und in jedem Falle konsequent an, was leider einen nachteiligen Einfluss auf die Genuigkeit und Eindeutigkeit mancher Schlussergebnisse ausübt. Im Falle von Jeziorko z. B. stellt der Autor auf Seite 122 „das Mitauftreten der baltischen, lausitzischen und pommerischen Formen mit dem deutlichen Übergewicht der ersten, obwohl der Anteil der lausitzischen Elemente bedeutend war“, fest. Auf S. 178 scheint er aber seine, den baltischen Elementen den Vorzug gebende Meinung zurückzuziehen. Er schreibt nämlich über die lausitzischen Elemente folgendes: „Sie bilden einen allgemeinen Kulturgrund des Fundplatzes. Erst darauf schichtet sich die baltische und die pommerische Kultur auf. Wie hoch aber im Material von Jeziorko das Prozent der baltischen Elemente im Verhältnis zu dem lausitzischen und dem pommerischen ist, kann vorläufig leider nicht beantwortet werden“.

Die genaue Analyse des keramischen Materials verdient volle Anerkennung. Die detaillierte, gründliche Bearbeitung der Töpfererzeugnisse fand einen graphischen Ausdruck in höchst wertvollen, sehr beim Ausnutzen der besprochenen Arbeit behilflichen, synoptischen Zusammenstellungen, welche die Konfrontation der sepulkralen Keramik mit den aus den Wehranlagen stammenden Gefäßen erlauben und die Formidentität der beiden Bodenfundgruppen beweisen.

Die Ansicht des Verfassers über die Bestattungsformänderungen finde ich auch sehr treffend. Die Änderungen bestehen in der Anwendung kleiner Nekropole, die zu den einzelnen aus grossen Gemeinschaften abgesonderten Familien gehörten, anstatt der ausgedehnten, grossen Gräberfelder, was vom Autor als Symptom der progressiven Entwicklungs- etappe der Produktionsorganisation positiv beurteilt ist (S. 200). Man soll den Wert dieser Meinung gehörig schätzen gegenüber den in unserer Literatur unüberwindlich herrschenden Tendenzen, welche eine analogische Erscheinung in der pommerischen Kultur als den Beweis der länger dauernden, starken, unberührten Gesellschaftsfesseln der angeblich nicht völlig beförderten, in ihrer Entwicklung verspäteten Stammabzweigung der baltischen Slawen irrtümlich ansehen, was doch ein Missverständnis ist. Die kleinen Gräberfelder (S. 204), ebenso wie die kleinen Befestigungssiedlungen (S. 204) sind Beweise eines sozialökonomischen Selbstständigkeitsprozesses der sich absondernden kleinen Familien.

Von grossem Wert ist auch die Bemerkung des Autors auf Seite 53 über die eigentümliche Textilornamentik, eine Erscheinung, welche selten auf dem preussischen Gebiet, sehr oft dagegen im Material aus den Burgwällen des nord-östlichen Russlands auftritt. Włodzimierz Hołubo-

wicz<sup>21</sup> hat seinerzeit eine interessante Meinung geäußert, dass jedes Keramikornamentationsmotiv im Aspekt des Kultus und der Magie analysiert werden soll. Von diesem Grundsatz ausgehend würde ich im erwähnten Motiv ein wissentlich und zielbewusst erzeugtes Ornament von magisch-kultischem Charakter sehen. Schon das Gefäß allein — laut der in unserer Wissenschaft angenommenen Theorie — wird als Symbol der Frau betrachtet. Diese Symbolik wird noch durch die plastische Darstellung der Frauenbrüste oder anderer Geschlechtszeichen unterstrichen. Diese an Kultusinhalt reiche Ornamentik betrifft zweifellos die weibliche Gottheit, welche wir in der Lausitzer Kultur z. B. aus der anthropomorphischen Darstellung in Form eines ein Gefäß in den Händen haltenden weiblichen Lehmfigürchens kennen. Ich würde darin eine spezielle Doppelbetonung, eine besondere Reduplikation des weiblichen Symbols von unbestreitbar kultischem Charakter sehen. Die Frauendarstellungen auf den Gefäßen können in diesem Aspekt die Idole symbolisieren. Demnach kann das bekannte, das Spinnen und das Weben darstellende Bild auf dem Hallstattgefäß aus Sopron-Ödenburg in Ungarn das bekannte weibliche illyrische Idol, die Schutzgöttin des Spinnens und Webens<sup>22</sup>, also die Patronin der tatsächlich wichtigen Frauenbeschäftigungen symbolisieren. Was für eine Metapher unter dem Sinnbild des Webens und des Spinnens verborgen war, belehrt uns die skandinavische Mythologie<sup>23</sup>, da der skandinavische germanische Pantheon ähnliche weibliche Gottheiten kannte. Es waren Idole, wie z. B. die Freja, die göttliche fortdauernde Spinnerin des goldenen Lebensfadens, welche den Menschen das Weben angeeignet hat; Göttinnen, die über die gebährenden Frauen wachten und bei den Wöchnerinnen erschienen um von da aus den goldenen Lebensfaden des Neugeborenen zu spinnen. Es ist höchst möglich, dass die Textilverzierung auf der Keramik, als plastischer schematischer Ausdruck des konventionellen Symbols, einen solchen Glaubensinhalt besitzt. Ein mit so an Kultusinhalt reichem Ornament ausgestattetes Gefäß übte wahrscheinlich eine spezielle Ritusfunktion aus. Per analogiam könnte man auch versuchsweise der späthallstattischen baltischen Keramik mit Textilornament die ähnliche Bestimmung zuschreiben.

Besonderes Interesse erwecken die fragmentarisch sich erhaltenen Menschenüberbleibsel, die in der Siedlungsschicht zweier Anlagen ent-

<sup>21</sup> Wł. Hołubowicz, Z badań nad ceramiką kultury „łużyckiej”, „Z Otchłani Wieków”, XVI (1947), 11—12, S. 155.

<sup>22</sup> „Histoire générale des religions”, Bd. I, Paris 1948, S. 158 und 159.

<sup>23</sup> St. Piekarczyk, O społeczeństwie i religii Skandynawii VIII—XI w., Warszawa 1963, S. 55; J. Rosen-Przeworska, Religia Germanów, „Zarys dziejów religii”, Warszawa 1964, S. 467.

deckt wurden. Der Verfasser stellt mit Recht fest, dass die in der Nähe der Behausungen gefundenen frühhallstattischen Menschenknochen in erwähnten Fällen keineswegs als Reste einer zerstörten Skelettbestattung, eines devastierten Grabes betrachtet werden können. Nichts deutet nämlich darauf. Er erwähnt aber mit zu grosser Vorsicht die Möglichkeit eines rituellen Kannibalismus. Es hat den Anschein, als ob die auf einem peripherischen Müllplatz der Siedlung zusammen mit den Tierknochen und den Essabfällen gefundenen Menschenknochen vorbehältlich auf die Vermutung des eventuellen Kannibalismus deuten könnten. Obwohl es keine Spuren von zerspalteten Knochen gibt, sind die Schädel dennoch zerschlagen und zwei Knochen sogar angebrannt, was auf einen Unglücksfall, wie die Feuerbrunst oder ein Überfall, nicht unbedingt zurückzuführen ist. In der Siedlung Plešno, Kr. Reszel, wurde auch der Schädeldach eines erwachsenen Menschen und der Teil eines Kinderskelettes gefunden. Zu der obigen Interpretation würde die in unserer Wissenschaft bereits angenommene Ansicht über den Kannibalismus der auf dem polnischen Gebiete wohnenden Hallstattstämme anregen<sup>24</sup>. Demnach würden ähnliche Praktiken von Rituscharakter ebenso bei den Slawen, wie eventuell auch bei den Balten wahrgenommen. Solche Konvergenz im Bereiche des Glaubens ist nicht abgesondert, wie z. B. die Solarscheibe aus Jeziorko, welche aus einer Scherbe genau wie die in der Lausitzer Kultur angefertigt wurde, oder die rätselhaften in Arkłity und in Orzysz gefundenen Knochenplatten mit Löcherchen, in welchen ich auf Grund der ethnologischen Analogien eine Art von im Ritus des Ahnenkultus gebrauchten, wirbelnder Aerophonen sehen und die Analogie in einem Wildschweinhauer mit einigen Löcherchen aus Biskupin zitieren würde.

Die umfangreiche Dissertation des Dr. Jerzy Antoniewicz, welche so mutig die wesentlichen Geschichtsfragen der Urgemeinschaft auf dem Gebiete Altpreussens aufnimmt, spornt den Leser zur tiefen Reflektion an und liefert die Gelegenheit zum Nachdenken über die Probleme der fremden, nicht slawischen, auf dem polnischen Gelände in der Epoche der Urgemeinschaft lebenden Stämme, was heute besondere Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher erweckt. Die hier besprochene Dissertation eines so erfahrenen Kenners, wie J. Antoniewicz, ist der Ausdruck seiner positiven und schöpferischen Haltung gegenüber diesem passionierenden Problem.

<sup>24</sup> W. Ünverzagt, Ausgrabungen in der Burg von Lebus/Oder während der Jahre 1941—1944, „Ausgrabungen und Funde“ III (1958), S. 121; W. Hensel, Polska przed tysiącem lat, Wrocław—Warszawa 1960, S. 33; T. Malinowski, Czy ludność kultury łużyckiej w Polsce uprawiała ludożerstwo? „Z Otchłani Wieków“: XXVII (1961), S. 189—193; Derselbe, Dalsze badania osadnictwa ludności kultury łużyckiej wczesnej epoki żelaza w Słupcy, S. 152.

## REVIEWS—COMPTE-RENDUS

### ARCHAEOLOGY

M. Gimbutas, *The Balts*, "Ancient Peoples and Places", London 1963. (Thomas and Hudson), 286 pp. — 47 illustrations and 11 maps in the text, as well as 79 illustration on 39 plates apart from the text.

The book by Professor M. Gimbutas on prehistory of Baltic peoples appeared in the well-known series "Ancient Peoples and Places". It is for several reasons that we open this book with curiosity. First of all, because it is a new, popular synthesis of the Baltic Peoples. Secondly, because the authoress did not limit her work to the analysis of the prehistory of western Balts but, for the first time, included in this synthesis the heretofore anonymous history of eastern Baltic tribes, from the basin of the Dnieper, the Sosh, the Desna and the upper Oka Rivers, as well as the tribes inhabiting the area between the middle Oka and the upper Volga rivers. The cultures of these territories have not been examined, so far, in the western European literature from the ethnical angle, the Soviet archaeology of the fifties (more precisely from the appearance in 1958 of the work written by a well-known Estonian archaeologist H. Moora) being the only exception in this respect. Another exception with regard to the above mentioned remark are linguists of Tsarist Russia A. Kočubinskij<sup>1</sup>, A. Pogodin<sup>2</sup>, A. Sobolevskij<sup>3</sup>, as well as of other nationalities both in the between-war period, (K. Būga<sup>4</sup>, M. Vasmer<sup>5</sup>, V. Kiparsky<sup>6</sup>), and in the post-war period (R. Schmittlein<sup>7</sup>, J. Otrębski<sup>8</sup>, E. Fraenkel<sup>9</sup>, V. Toporov, O. Trubačev<sup>10</sup> and others). That is why we should welcome the publication by M. Gimbutas as

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<sup>1</sup> A. Kočubinskij, Territorija doistoričeskoj Litvy, „Zur. Minister. Narod. Prosveščennija 1897“, No. 1, pp. 60—94.

<sup>2</sup> A. Pogodin, Iz slavianskich predviženij, St. P. 1901, pp. 91—92, 93.

<sup>3</sup> A. Sobolevskij, Gde žila Litva, „Izv. Akademii Nauk“. S. VI, St. P. 1911, pp. 1053.

<sup>4</sup> K. Būga, Die vorgeschichte der aistischen (baltischen) Stämme im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung, „Streitberg Festgabe“, Leipzig 1924, p. 20 and Aistiškesios kilmes Gudijos vietvardžiai, „Tauta ir Žodis“, vol. I (1924), pp. 23—40.

<sup>5</sup> M. Vasmer, Beiträge zur histor. Völkerkunde Osteuropas. Die Ostgrenze der baltischen Stämme, „Sitz. B. P. A. Wiss.“ 1932, pp. 637—666.

<sup>6</sup> V. Kiparsky, Baltische Sprachen u. Völker, „Baltische Länder“, vol. I (1933), pp. 43—59 and map.

<sup>7</sup> R. Schmittlein, Études sur la nationalité des Aestii, Bude 1943.

<sup>8</sup> J. Otrębski, La formation des noms physiographiques en Lithuanien, „Lingua Posnaniensis“, vol. I (1949), pp. 193—243; Das Jatwingerproblem, „Die Sprache“, vol. IX (1963), pp. 157—167.

<sup>9</sup> E. Fraenkel, Die baltischen Sprachen, Heidelberg 1950.

<sup>10</sup> V. Toporov and O. Trubačev, Lingvičeskij analiz gidronimov vierchnege Podnieprovija, Moskva 1962.

a novatory and necessary one in the west-European ground. It summarizes all that have been done in the field of the exploration of prehistory of Baltic peoples in Poland as well as in particular Republics of the Soviet Union, till 1962 including it. It is an enormous territory between the lower Vistula River in the west, to the Moscow River in the east, and from Latvia in the north downwards to the Pripet River in the south. It should be stressed, however, that the task undertaken by the authoress was by no means an easy one. The abundance of publications, materials and commentaries which have appeared in numerous both Polish and Soviet editions — even impossible to be cited in the book — made the writing of this synthetical picture more difficult and, more over, the bulk of this volume being limited by the editor.

In undertaking the task of writing a review on this work we must make a reservation, namely, that we are equally interested in the authoress's conception of the work as well as in the amount of factographic descriptions, adjusted, to the average level of the readers, interested in the prehistory of European peoples, to whom belonged the Balts, being the most close relations of the Slavs. Some authoress's conceptions of ethnical character are, too, of interest for us, constituting a reflexion of her personal opinion, which should be confronted with the real archaeological evidence, justifying the formulation of such an hypothesis for a wide public.

The authoress begins her work with an introduction in which, among the others, she summarizes the history of the explorations dealing with the Baltic peoples in the past, successively enumerating the learned societies set up in the first half of the nineteenth century and interested in the ancient times of these peoples — then, she examines them systematically at the close of the nine-

teenth and the turn of the twentieth centuries. She, too, enumerates the well-known names of archaeologists, but she is not right not to mention the linguists whose merits are of a lasting importance for the designing of ethnical boundaries of the Balts. The explorations of the linguists constituted a contribution to the designing of zones of contacts of the Baltic tribes with the Slav world, Scythian nomads as well as both West — and Volga-Finnish tribes. We are aware of the fact that the quotation of a number of well-known names of scientists of merit would render the content of the book fairly difficult for a broad circle of readers, of an average education, but we, too, are convinced that a few names of some eminent linguists who equally with the archaeologists contributed in the elucidation of the problem of the settlements of the Balts in north-eastern Europe could have been mentioned by those of archaeologists.

The chapter entitled "Linguistic and Historic Background" constitutes a wider introduction into the exploratory problems. Generally speaking the chapter contains suitable formulations with regard to the written sources, referring to various Baltic tribes in the Middle-Ages and, as far as the earlier period is concerned, in antiquity. There are, however, some bigger or smaller mistakes in this respect. On page 22, the authoress reckons the Herodotus' Neuri among the Balts<sup>11</sup>, with a reservation, however, that other scholars consider them to be Slav, too<sup>12</sup>. We can add in this respect that the eminent Russian linguist A. Šachmatov had been willing before the First World War to see in them a Finnish people what was

<sup>11</sup> M. Gimbutas, *The Balts*, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian*, Poznań 1946 and rec. J. Safarewicz in: „Rocznik Sławistyczny”, vol. XVI (1948), p. 29. See: K. Tymieniecki, *Neurowie-Weleci*, „Pamiętnik Słowiański”, vol. V (1957), pp. 20—89.



rejected by science long ago<sup>13</sup>. The reckoning of Herodotus' Neuri among the Balts seems to us unnecessary, because of the character of the book, as well as the quotation of the others, Slav alternative is superfluous, too. We are of the opinion that the problem of Neuri is of a marginal character for the ethno-genesis of the Baltic peoples, and the authoress unnecessarily draws to it the attention of the reader. In the part dealing with the tribal provinces, enumerated by Dusburg—the annalist of the Teutonic Order, the authoress with no need writes the tribal names in the Lithuanian language in addition to the Latin expressions. They refer to only 3 million of Lithuanians and even in the Lithuanian scientific publications the Latin names are usually applied. These double-language expressions result in a difficulty for a western-European reader. The place could be used for another scientific information. The above-mentioned remark refers, too, to the map, demonstrating those tribal territories. The territorial distribution of the tribes, reveals, too, some mistakes on the map. For instance *Bartha* had been smaller in reality than it was pointed on the map, its southern boundary reaching not the Sniardwy lake, but the Mamry lake, lying more northwards. It is a well-known fact that the so-called *Bartha minor* and *major* are specifically singled out from the rest of the lands belonging to Prussians by the attachment of the latter to the specially fertile soil, and it is impossible, as the authoress does to include into their lands the area of the Masurian moraine, which belonged to *Galindia*. The adoption of the curve of the Narew River as the southern-east boundary of *Galindia* arouses, too, some doubts; it has not been solved, so far, whether the above

mentioned river in its upper and middle course should be accepted as the southern boundary of ancient *Sudovia*. As the map-explanations inform, it demonstrates the ethnical relationship in the twelfth century; it is certain that the southern Sudovian territory underwent a shrinking by the area between the Narew and the Biebrza Rivers<sup>14</sup>. But the Baltic division according to the names of the rivers in the east is designed by the authoress on the map No. 2 as an area covering almost the whole of the Pommerania<sup>15</sup>. It has been done by the authoress on the basis of the name of the Parsęta River as well as of those of a number of localities as *Straduny-Labuny* and the like. It should be noted here that the name of the Parsęta River is considered by a linguist M. Rudnicki as Pommeranian one — but the names of the Straduny-Labuny type — because of their wider reach in the Slav territories (for instance the area of Silesia and Little Poland) — should be considered as an old Prussian substratum, or Indo-European one, which as it seems, an outstanding German linguist, H. Krahe is willing to accept<sup>16</sup>. The problem of the *Krzna* River in the Lublin voivodship, which is reconstructed by the authoress as the *Kirsna*, requires further explanations, as rightfully concludes V. Toporov, who devoted a separate treatise to this river in the book written in the tribute to J. Endzelins<sup>17</sup>. For this reason there is no need to include the whole territory between the Vistula and the

<sup>14</sup> See A. Kamiński, *Jaćwiesz*, Łódź 1963 and J. Nalepa, *Jaćwięgowie*, Białystok 1964.

<sup>15</sup> See H. Schall, *Baltische Sprachreste zwischen Elbe und Weichsel*, „Forschungen u. Fortschritte”, vol. 36, z. 2 (1962), pp. 56–61.

<sup>16</sup> H. Krahe, *Baltische Ortsnamen westlich der Weichsel?* „Altpreussen” 1943, pp. 11–12.

<sup>17</sup> V. Toporov, *O južnoj granice Jatvjagov*, „Rakstu krājums Dr. J. Endzelinum”, Rīga 1959, pp. 251–261 and p. 261.

<sup>13</sup> A. Šachmatov, *K' voprosu o finsko-keltskich i finskoslavjanskich otnošenijach*, „Izvestija imp. Akademii Nauk”, No. 9 (1911), pp. 713–717.

Bug rivers, because of one river flowing across it in its middle, as does the authoress. The same refers to the Płock Masovia, where no river-names division (Baltic) exists, apart from two localities *Szreńsk* and *Szranka*, with regard to which there is no certainty of their Balto-slavical origin. But, as it is known, we have several of them in the Masovia, in the Łomża district: the *Skroda* River as well as the second, *Jura*, together with over a score of names of localities which have been both discovered and described by K. Zierhoffer (1957). The course of the Łyna River (called the Alna by Lithuanians) is wrongly designed on the map. This river falls into the Pregoła River not into the Narev River, as it is wrongly shown on the map. As far as the Southern-Polesia (Volynian) is concerned, the reach of the Baltic territory according to the names of the rivers is correctly designed, apart from the area between the middle Bug River and the upper Pripet River, with regard to which there is no evidence of Baltic river-names there. Decisively, too, there are no Baltic river-names in the Kiev region as we see it on the map under consideration, and no Baltic names of the rivers are known just in the between-basin of the Dnieper and the Desna Rivers till the mouth of the Pripet River — the left-side basin of the Desna River being the only exception in this respect<sup>18</sup>. The reach of the particular divisions on the basis of river-names in the upper-Oka region as well as in the basin of the Moscow River are correctly marked, but I would suggest that the part of the upper course of the Łowat River should not be excluded from the Baltic territory for the advantage of the Finns. The division based on the names of the rivers between the Baltic and the Finnish peoples in northern Latvia is, unfortunately, designed on an archae-

ological basis<sup>19</sup>. The inclusion of the Latvian coasts on both sides of the Riga Bay to the territory of Balts arouses some doubts, as we know that it were the Livs who lived there.

An extensive part of this chapter is devoted by the authoress to the Balto-Finnish contacts in the field of the mutual linguistic "borrowings".

This is fairly understandable — but it is not understandable why a similarly wide place was not devoted to the contacts between the Balts and the Slavs<sup>20</sup>. M. Gimbutas takes no attitude with regard to the hypothetical division of the Prussian dialects, which were singled out by J. Endzelins<sup>21</sup> in their correlation to the results of the explorations carried out by A. Bezenberger<sup>22</sup> with regard to the differentiation of the names of the rivers ending with "upe" and "ape". In my opinion it would enable the authoress to single out three zones of dialects and names of the rivers in the Prussian territory, which could exclude this territorial "grasping" of the notoriously Slav area in the Polish territory for the advantage of both Prussian and Sudovian tribes, which occur on the maps published in the book under consideration.

In the second chapter, entitled "Their Origins", the authoress deals with the origin of the Balts. While examining their

<sup>19</sup> F. Balodis, Die baltisch-finisch-ugrische Grenze in Lettland in vorgeschichtliche Zeit, „Memoire de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne“, vol. 67 (1933), p. 24 ff.

<sup>20</sup> V. Kiparsky, Chronologie des relations slavobaltiques et slavofinnoises, „Revue de Etudes Slaves“, vol. 24 (1947), pp. 29--47.

<sup>21</sup> J. Endzelin, Was ist im Altpreussischen aus ide ō (und ā) geworden?, „Studii Baltici“, vol. IV (1935), pp. 135—143.

<sup>22</sup> A. Bezenberger, Über die Verbreitung einiger Ortsnamen in Ostpreussen, „Altpreussische Monatsschrift“, vol. XX (1883), pp. 123—128; N. Trubetzkoy, Zum Flussnamen Upa (let. upē), „Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie“, vol. XIV (1937), pp. 553—554; M. Vasmer, Nachtrag zum Namen Upa, Z. f. s. Ph., p. 354.

<sup>18</sup> V. Toporov and O. N. Trubačev, Lingvističeskij analiz gidronimov verchnego Podnieprovja, Moskwa 1962 (map 3).

origin in connection with the appearance of the Indo-Europeans, which was marked in the cultural field by the introducing of corded-pottery, the authoress completely omits the problem of the Balto-Slav community, devoting to it only one sentence. It can be assumed that she thinks, too, that Balts derive from the *Rzucewo-group* of corded pottery, citing the settlement forms in the Prussian territory connected with the above mentioned culture (Buildings, barrows and the like.) The authoress, as one can think, is not completely willing to accept the L. Kilian's opinion<sup>23</sup>, accepting it, however. She does not reflect on the eventuality of the participation of other groups of corded-pottery in the formation of Baltic tribes. She neither takes any attitude with regard to the hypothesis by K. Būga, who was of the opinion that Prussian relatively early achieved their settlements on the Baltic coast — but Letto-Lithuanians moved to their historical settlements on the Dnieper and the Sosh Rivers not earlier than after the sixth century, which resulted from the expansion of Slavs to the territories situated more in the north of Ukraina<sup>24</sup>. This point of view of a Lithuanian linguist is of course, inadmittable today, as resultling from the wrong assumption. We are aware that the quotation of this point of view would constitute a confusion of the picture reflecting the ethno-genesis of the Balts in the mind of the reader — but it seems, however, that the formulations of the authoress included in Chapter II are too laconic and probably not completely convincing for the reader. The examples of the vocabulary which are quoted by the authoress constitute an undoubtful value of the book, as they define certain conceptions

<sup>23</sup> L. Kilian, *Haffküstenkultur und Ursprung der Balten*, Bonn 1955, pp. 320 + 56 tab. and 13 map.

<sup>24</sup> K. Būga, *Upių vardų studijos ir aisčiu bei Slavenų senove*, „Tauta ir Žodis”, vol. I (1923), pp. 1—20.

with regard to the agrarian husbandry and stock-breeding in different Paleo-Indo-European and European languages, which aims at the revealing to the reader the mutual genesis of these languages from the common root in the ancient past.

The Chapter III covers the Bronze Age as well as the Early Iron Age in the territories of Maritime Balts. The authoress begins this chapter with an analysis of the role of amber in the trade of Balts with the whole of Europe as well as with the examination of the influence of this trade on the acceleration of the economic evolution of the tribes inhabiting the southern coasts of the Baltic Sea. She, too, draws the attention to the level of soil-tillage technics, which used to be done with the use of the Baltic snake-headed hoes of stone, the dating of which falls on the Early and Middle periods of the Bronze Age. The so-called “kraal” referring to the stock-breeding at Biskupin, draws, too, the attention as an example of the shepherd-breeding husbandry of the period. The assignment of the Trzciniec culture to the Baltic peoples is also of interest, though not convincing. It is undoubtedly a pre-Slav culture, appearing after the singling out of Pre-Slavs from the Balto-Slav community<sup>25</sup>. The cultural elements similar to those typical of the Trzciniec culture constitute its reflection in the north-eastern area in the Couronian Lagoon<sup>26</sup> as well as on the Nemunas River in the region of Grodno<sup>27</sup>. It is, too, reflected by the Sońnica culture, in the territory of the among-river basin of the Pripet, the Dnieper and the Sosh<sup>28</sup>; these points distant from each other, should be con-

<sup>25</sup> A. Gardawski, *Plemiona kultury trzcinieckiej w Polsce*, „Materiały Starożytne”, vol. V (1959), p. 173—176.

<sup>26</sup> A. Gardawski, *Loc. cit.*, plate 1.

<sup>27</sup> A. Gardawski, *Loc. cit.*, p. 67 (Marcinkańce), p. 86 (Zukiewiczze).

<sup>28</sup> N. Artamienko, *Poselenje bronzovogo veka na Kuzinoj Gore*, „Sovietskaja Archiologija”, No. 2 (1961).

sidered as the archaeological isolation of the Ancient Balts from the Balto-Slav community. The logic requires the map placed by M. Gimbutas on page 63 (map No. 10) to be considered as a misunderstanding resulting from the false evaluation of the ethnical relations in the Middle Bronze Age in the territory of Poland and of the territories bordering upon it. The reckoning of the Balanovo and Abashevo cultures on the upper Volga and lower Kama rivers among the Baltic cultures seems, too, to be a misunderstanding. The above-mentioned territory does not lie in the reach of the Baltic water-names and Balts never inhabited the areas lying so far in the east.

A number of typical ornaments and bronze objects in the form of implements appear, too, in the territory of Balts simultaneously with the singling out of the Ancient Balts in the Middle Bronze Age. Though the formation of the local differences with regard to the bronze-made objects is visible from the II period of The Bronze Age in the territories constituting the part of northern Poland, in Prussia, Lithuania and Latvia — the different forms are few in number and constitute rather a local feature of the central-European cultural picture. The variety of different cultural forms typical of the Balts appear not earlier than in the third and the fourth periods of the Bronze Age, which should be connected with the independent and to some extent isolated development of Prussians and Lithuanians with regard to the Lusatian circle (III period). The Prussian and maybe the Couronian region, too, falls under the influence of the Lusatian territory not earlier than in the IVth period, this influence lasting till the late La Tène Period, i. e. till about 150 year before our era.

The Early Iron Age characterizes itself in the northern Poland with face-urns and house-urns within the circle

of the so-called East-Pommeranian culture and is not omitted by the authoress. She assumes, however, that from the ethnical angle the east-Pommeranian culture belongs to the Balts, the reason of doing it being unknown. Though J. Kostrzewski<sup>29</sup> had expressed in 1934 his point of view that it could be Baltic one, but five years later he completely denied this false point of view, on the basis of the examination of the pottery-material deriving from the settlements of this culture<sup>30</sup>. The authoress should take an inverse attitude and stress the enormous influence from the part of the Pommeranian culture as well as of the Lusatian on the culture of Baltic tribes inhabiting the Prussian territories in the Hallstatt- La Tène period<sup>31</sup>. After all this influence is not restricted to the Prussian territory, being extended to the Couronian areas of Lithuania<sup>32</sup>, Latvia<sup>33</sup>, as well as to Estonia<sup>34</sup> and Finland<sup>35</sup>. The authoress — in discordance with the actual situation — presents the reach of the Milograd culture which, according to her opinion, reaches Kiev in the south

<sup>29</sup> J. Kostrzewski, Dwa cmentarzyska kultury pomorskiej w Dębówku Nowym, w pow. wyrzyskim oraz Warszkwowie, w pow. morskim, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. XII (1934), pp. 43—102.

<sup>30</sup> J. Kostrzewski, Kilka osad kultury grobów skrzynkowych i zagadnienie przynależności etnicznej tej kultury, „Przeгляд Archeologiczny”, vol. VI (1939), pp. 273—293.

<sup>31</sup> J. Antoniewicz, Osiedla obronne okresu wczesnożelaznego w Prusach, „Światowit”, vol. XXV (1964), p. 206.

<sup>32</sup> J. Puzinas, Ankstyvoje geležius amžius kapas surastas Kurmaičiuose, „Vyt. Didž. Kultūros Muziejus Metraštis”, vol. I (1941), p. 19 and pp. 26—27.

<sup>33</sup> F. Balodis, Det äldsta Lettland, Uppsala 1940, p. 65.

<sup>34</sup> R. Indrekoo, Asva Linnus-asula „Muistee Eesti linnused”. Tartu 1939 and A. K. Vassar, Ukreplonnoje posilenije Asva na ostrovie Saaremaa, „Muistsed asuland ja linnused”, Tallinn 1955, p. 117.

<sup>35</sup> C. F. Meinander, Die Bronzezeit in Finnland, Helsinki 1954, pp. 79, 150, 177, and p. 202.

and in the north enters into the between-river basin of the Berezyňa and the Dnieper, which is wrong (p. 83, map, illustr. 24). The reach of the Jukhnovo culture is neither properly shown, because this culture reaches as far in the south as the whole course of the Sejm, then from the beginning of this river up to the beginning of the Oka River lies the mixed zone between the Jukhnovo and the „Upper Oka” cultures. The eastern boundary of the culture of the “Upper Oka” earthworks runs more proportionally and approximately along the division between the tributaries of the Upa and the Don Rivers.

The Chapter IV is devoted to the so called “Eastern” Balts, among which the authoress reckons the tribes of the Brushed-pottery culture, the Milograd-culture tribes of the pottery with well-smoothed surface (The Jukhnovo, the Upper Dnieper, the group of Moscow earthworks of the Djakowo culture). Such a division does not seem to be substantiated. It results from the fact that the authoress divides Baltic tribes in two groups: Maritime Balts (Prussians, Sudovians and Courens), and the eastern ones to which according to the authoress the rest of them belong. The authoress of this review gave evidence in another place that the Baltic tribes should be divided in two groups: the western and the eastern. The Prussian, Sudovian and Letto-Lithuanian tribes belong to the western group. The Upper Dnieper tribes, the Goljad’ tribes on the Moscow River as well as on the middle Oka, the Upper Oka tribes and the Jukhnovo tribes can be reckoned among the eastern-Baltic group<sup>38</sup>. The Milograd culture should be recognized as the boundary, of the Pre-Slav culture, because it remains within the Trzcinić culture, belonging later to the Zarubincy culture.

<sup>38</sup> J. Antoniewicz, *Osadnictwo Bałtów w północno-wschodniej Europie i jego podstawy gospodarcze i społeczne (V wiek przed n.e. — V wiek n.e.)*, Warszawa 1966 (in preparation).

The chapter VII, which encloses the period from the 2nd to the 5th centuries of our era, including it, is called by the authoress the “Golden Age”, which is right and suggestive. The production of various ornaments made of bronze as well as the enamel-decoration together with the development of iron-metallurgy based on the know-how, different from that in the Slav territories, revealed the incredible peak of thriving. Owing to trade contacts the bronze-made and enamel-decorated objects spread wide into the territories of the whole eastern Europe and there are reasons to assume the Ukrainian centre takes the advantage of the technological achievements of the Balts in the sphere of the enamel-made objects and not contrarily. In any case, in the light of the present stage of explorations it is explicitly visible that the red-enamel decoration spread in the southern territories of Prussia from the south earlier than in the Ukrainian region in the Kiev area. Despite this fact of the undoubtable development of this branch of manufacture the authoress does not explain to the reader why this period begins in the 2nd century of our era — while this period generally begins in the Slav territories from the outset of the first century of our era, i. e. the economic development being assumed to occur at least by one or two centuries earlier than in the Baltic territory. The explanation of this problem is obviously omitted by the authoress, which seems not to be correct in our opinion. As far as metallurgy is concerned, the Slav lands enter into the sphere of the Celtic technological achievements as early as in the first century before our era, the Balts lagging behind the Slavs, in this respect, by about two hundred years, later on, however, they overtook them coming even before them, as it is proven by the later evidence in the field of the production of ornaments, which are decorated with enamel. All these facts are omitted by the author-

ess — though an illustration of these aspects could elucidate the dynamic development of the Baltic peoples in the ancient times.

The assuming of the 5th century of our era as the upper limit is correct, and — I think results from the old formulations by H. Moora<sup>37</sup>. The evolution of social, cultural as well as economic relations uninterrupted by hostile invasions lasted such a long time, while Slavs end this stage definitely about the year 375 of our era, i. e. at the moment of the Hunns' invasion of Ukraina. With this moment begins the economic regress of Slavs, which actually lasts till the year of 568, when the Avars definitely settle down on the Middle Donau River. This phase lasts with no disturbances as far as Balts are concerned, till the close of the 5th century being interrupted at the turn of the 6th century with the invasions from the part of the North-Germanic tribes, which finally resulted in the setting up of a number of trading companies (factories), as early as in the 7th century. — For instance, Truso by Elbląg, or Grobina in the Latvian coasts.

With regard to the chronological data, the authoress is not consequent in their application. First, she assumes the upper limit for this period to be the 5th century of our era, while on the chronological table, p. 12, she ends the "Golden Age" in the 6th century. It is not possible either to agree with the authoress that the out-set of the Early Iron Age could be assigned to 800/700 years before our era, with regard to the Baltic tribal territories, as it is pointed out by the authoress on the above-mentioned table, while it actually occurs some 500 years before our era, beginning in the Prussian tribal territories till as far as the lower basin of the Oka river. The Milograd culture is the only one, excluded from the above mentioned assignments, being

from the chronological aspect of view almost contemporary with the Wysocko culture and — as it seems — its beginnings being ascribed to a too late period by some Soviet explorers, at least with regard to its settlements in Volhynia and Polesie.

Jerzy Antoniewicz

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The Chapter VI entitled "The Baltic Middle Iron Age" the authoress devote to the analysis of the period covering the 6th- the 8th centuries. She expresses a point of view that "big trading towns" appear in Prussia as early as in the 7th century. It is not possible to agree with her opinion, because at the then period of the social development of Prussians, the existing there Sambian centres could not bear an urban character. In her analysis of the problem the authoress takes as the basis exclusively the pre-war literature, without taking into consideration more recent explorations from the part of both Polish and Soviet archaeologists<sup>38</sup>.

The problem of the penetration of Slav settlements from the basin of the Wieprz River into northern regions inhabited still by the Baltic population in this period, is relatively fairly well analysed. In this respect the results of the new examinations carried out by J. V. Kucharenko and V. V. Sedov are taken into consideration in the book.

Chapter VII, entitled "The Balts before the dawn of history" refers to the 9th—the 12th centuries. First the authoress gives a description of the character of spreading of Baltic objects into the neighbouring territories. According to her the obvious traces of contacts with Scandinavia occurred in this period, the evidence of which being given by, among the others, the finds of ornaments in Huggleifs near Silte and Boters near Ge-

<sup>38</sup> F. D. Gurevič. Iz istorii jugo-vostočnoj Pribaltiki v I tys. n.e., Moskva 1960, p. 402; J. Zak, Kwestia skandynawskiej faktorii Truso, „Roczniki Historyczne”, vol. XXVI (1961).

<sup>37</sup> H. Moora, Die Eisenzeit in Lettland, Tartu 1938, vol. II, p. 670—682.

turn in the Gotland island. The spreading of these objects could take place through bartering or plunder. The authoress mentions in this respect the mutual piracy-expeditions of the Couronians and Swedes. (p. 156) The piratical raids of Swedish Vikings on the coasts of Baltic tribes are confirmed, but it seems rather doubtful whether the similar raids from the part of the latter took place as early as in the period under consideration. The development of piracy among peoples inhabiting eastern coasts of the Baltic Sea actually flourished but not earlier than in the 11th - the 12th centuries. The further parts of the chapter are devoted to the analysis of particular branches of production. The authoress states that artisan production flourished in the 11th century, particularly among Couronians, and she stresses the importance of Scandinavian influence in this respect. Prussians also achieved a fairly high level of production in this period. Riches of harness-ornaments, connected with the role of the horse from military point of view as well as from that of cult-rituals is characteristic. Further on, the authoress analysis the dresses and weaving, but unfortunately is not of the disposal of data on tissues from Równina Dolna. Examining the process of the isolation of artisan craft she expresses the opinion that, as far as home-production is concerned, only weaving, spinning and sewing belong to home-activity in this period. Other products bear, according to the authoress, the features of professional production. This thesis seems to be exaggerate, because among Balts as well as among Slavs as late-as in the 13th century — a number of objects are made individually, at home. (for instance wooden-vessels, horn-objects, parts of vessels and the like. — p. 165).

Next the authoress deals with the progress in agricultural production. Longer, more efficient blades of scythes

and ploughshare occurring in the finds give, among the others, the evidence of the taking place changes. The passing from the two-field system in agriculture, to the three-field, takes place es somewhere — in the as the authoress, evaluates in the 9th — the 12th centuries.

Problems connected with trade are relatively broadly examined. Weighed silver becomes the value-unit, and silver bars play, too, the role of currency. The authoress includes the description of the character of bartering with Russia, Scandinavia and western-Europe, omitting, however, completely the bartering relations with Poland as well as the problem of transit passing through the Polish territories. There is no possibility to agree with her point of view, that the Nemunas River constitutes an important trade route in this period. (p. 167).

In further parts the authoress deals with the analysis of the defensive and territorial organisation. She gives the descriptions of the more important graves, taking as the basis the explorations carried out by E. Šnore, P. Kulikauskas and A. Tautavičius. The authoress analyses territorial organisations, existing at the turn of the 13th century, defining them not very precisely as "states". She, too, describes the character of the aggression of the Teutonic Order against Baltic territories, but she does not mention the fights between Poles and Prussians, nor the appendages of the Chełm land to Poland. Depicting the fate of Prussian population remaining under the rule of the Knights of Teutonic Order, she does not take into consideration the extensive work, by M. Polakówna "The settlements in Warmia in the period of Teutonic Order", Poznań, 1953, (Osadnictwo Warmii w okresie krzyżackim) —, which is certainly accessible in the foreign libraries with which our Instytut Zachodni (Western Institute) is in contact as a publishing house. In the last part of the chapter

the authoress superficially deals with the further fate of Balts (half — a — page) starting with the 13th century. Not even a mention is made in this part about the Polish-Lithuanian Union, in the epoch of Jagiełło, the Lublin Union being defined as a political treaty against Russia. (117)

Chapters VIII covers the problem of religion of ancient Balts. Mention which is made at the beginning about the Polish-Lithuanian Union as well as reference to the christianisation of Lithuania should have been made in the former chapter. Next comes the description of the character of pagan beliefs. On the basis of the excavations carried out in the basin of the upper Dźwina River, which refer to the 6th- the 7th centuries, the authoress assumes the existence of the cult in the wooden temples. According to her opinion there existed, too, among Balts a separate group of very influential priests, this phenomenon fully appearing, however, not earlier than in the 14th century, and one should not switch it back. The authoress, too, quotes the description of the burial rite of Prussians, written down by Wulfstan (the 9th cent.) which includes information about the cremation of the dead together with their horses. She, too, draws the attention to the custom known from the 14-century written sources, of mass suicides of wives and servants during burial ceremonies. The occurrence of collective graves is connected with the above-mentioned custom. (pp. 185—188)

Pagan relics appearing in the Lithuanian as well as Latvian folklore till the most recent times are extensively characterized by the authoress. She stresses, in this respect, the existence of different notions: *velés* — psyche, which passes to the other world, and *siela* — anima, which remains on Earth, being reincarnated in animals or plants (trees). The holy groves constitute the place of the abidance of the "souls". Their name derive from the

word *ram-rom* — room. The authoress is of the opinion that the decorated crucifixes, appearing on the road-sides in Lithuania constitute the remainder of the poles adorned with symbols of deities (sun, stars, and the like). Next comes the description of Lithuanian deities, as — for instance — naiads (*laumes*), *Dievgas* (God of heavens), *Saule* (Goddess of Sun), *Mėnuo* — (God of moon), *Perkunas* (God of thunder) and *Žvaigždīs* (God of Stars) known only among Prussians, finally — *Kalvaitis* (Saint blacksmith) and *Laim* (Goddess of fate) — pp. 189—262. This paragraph, gives a fairly precise, general synthesis of the beliefs of pre-historic Balts, completing the text of the book.

The work by M. Gimbutas is written explicitly and in an attractive way. She gives many data of interest about the culture of the Balts. The paragraphs dealing with the beliefs are of particular interest. The narrow knowledge of the post-war, and particularly Polish literature is the weak side of the work under consideration. The authoress does not take into consideration the results of more recent papers, what results in the repetition of a number of the already out — of — date thesis, as well as in the impoverishment of the both cartographic and illustrating material. In the milieu in which the authoress lives the majority of the mentioned papers are certainly accessible, thus their elimination is unjustified, and diminishes considerably the value of the work. The approach of the authoress to the problems of periodisation can, too, be subject of discussion, because she does not sufficiently take into consideration the evolution-process of the peoples inhabiting the coasts of the Baltic Sea. The inconspicuous taking into consideration of mutual relations of Balts with Polish and Slav tribes which, in the light of works by J. Antoniewicz<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> J. Antoniewicz, *Ślady handlu Słowian z Bałtami we wczesnym średniowie-*



and the others were of important meaning for the development of the material culture of Prussians and Sudovians, is striking.

Kazimierz Slaski

E. M. Zagorulskij, *Archeologija Bielorusii* (Archaeology of White Russia), Mińsk 1935, str. 222+2 tablice i 4 mapy oraz liczne ryciny w tekście.

Książka powyższa jest podręcznikiem uniwersyteckim dla fakultetów historycznych oraz instytutów pedagogicznych BSRR. Sądząc jednak po języku, w którym ten podręcznik opublikowano — jego oddziaływanie ma być szersze i służyć ma także w tym charakterze poza granicami republiki. Przy omawianiu tej publikacji trzeba mieć oczywiście na względzie z jednej strony użyteczność tej książki jako podręcznika, z drugiej — jak sądzę — należy zająć stanowisko w stosunku do niektórych merytorycznych sformułowań autora. Trzeba także podkreślić, że wartość tej książki jest bardziej ogólna. Jest to pierwsze podsumowanie wiedzy o pradziejach Białorusi, jakie się dotychczas w literaturze archeologicznej ukazało. Jeśli się zważy, że ziemie Białorusi są naturalną strefą styku między plemionami wschodniosłowiańskimi a zachodniosłowiańskimi, to nie trzeba chyba podkreślać wagi ukazania się tej niepozornej publikacji — dla archeologii słowiańskiej w ogóle, a dla archeologii Polski w szczególności. Ale nie tylko ten moment ma dla nas znaczenie zasadnicze. Nie należy zapominać, że północno-wschodnie ziemie Polski oraz obszar ziem Białorusi stanowią odwieczną granicę etniczną, rozdzielającą świat słowiański od świata ludów bałtyjskich na przestrzeni dziejów. Poznanie w syntetycznym układzie dynamiki rozwojowej

poszczególnych kultur archeologicznych i odpowiadających im plemion słowiańskich i bałtyjskich otwiera nam drogę do jaśniejszego zrozumienia, kiedy dokonały się tak zasadnicze procesy dziejowe, jak np. rozbitcie wspólnoty bałtosłowiańskiej, przebieg procesów sławizacji obszarów bałtyjskich przez Słowian itd. Ponadto archeologia białoruska może i powinna odpowiadać historykowi, jakie czynniki natury wewnętrznej i zewnętrznej przyspieszały i opóźniały powstawanie na tym obszarze poszczególnych księstw ruskich oraz ośrodków miejskich itp. Oczywiście, na te wszystkie pytania nie znajdziemy odpowiedzi w niniejszej publikacji, ale niewątpliwie spełnia ona ważną rolę, a mianowicie porządkuje wiele problemów badawczych nad takimi lub innymi strukturami etnicznymi z przeszłości. Można nawet iść dalej i twierdzić, że książka ta niewątpliwie podsumowuje to wszystko, czego dotychczas dokonała archeologia na ziemiach białoruskich poprzez jednolity wykład syntetyczny z wszystkimi zaletami i wadami takiego podręcznikowego ujęcia. Autor, dając ogólny pogląd na jakiś okres lub kulturę, nieraz opierając się tylko na niewielkich ogłoszonych dotychczas drukiem przyczynkach lub sprawozdaniach, szedł niejako po omacku i drogą intuicji. Ponieważ jednak w nauce nie zawsze intuicja jest rzeczą twórczą — wobec tego budował syntezę na bardzo kruchych przesłankach, które dla mnie osobiście nie zawsze są przekonujące.

Nie sposób także w tej recenzji omówić całość podanego do druku materiału faktycznego oraz jego systematykę pod względem kulturowym, etnicznym i gospodarczo-społecznym. Brak miejsca na to nie zezwala. Należy, moim zdaniem, zabrać głos tylko w takich sprawach, które są sporne lub które oko recenzenta widzi inaczej. Dlatego w niniejszej recenzji pomijam wszystkie te zagadnienia, co do których niżej podpisany nie ma żadnego wyrobionego zda-

czu. „Rocznik Olsztyński”, t. III (1931), pp. 9—19 and id. Příspěvek k problemu vlivu západných Slovanů na hrdičství Prusů, „Vznik a počátky Slovanů”, vol. II (1938), pp. 211—222.

nia wobec braku bliższej znajomości danego okresu czy kultury. Zrobią to natomiast w przyszłości niewątpliwie ci, którzy w tej sprawie są bardziej kompetentni od recenzenta.

Autor rozpoczyna swoje opracowanie od omówienia zbadanych dotychczas stanowisk paleolitycznych na Białorusi, głównie w dorzeczu dolnej Prypeci, na obszarze górnego Dniepru oraz w dorzeczu Soża. Zdziwienie jednak wywołuje zaliczanie takich stanowisk, jak Podłuże lub Greńsk do mezolitu, gdyż wiadomo, że stanowiska te są albo z okresu oscylacji Böiling<sup>1</sup>, lub być może z interstadiału Allerød, a więc późnego plejstoenu. Brak także omówienia późnopalaeolitycznego stanowiska Nobel pod Pińskiem na Polesiu, zbadanego w 1938 roku przez St. Krukowskiego, które nawiązuje do elementów przemysłu płudzkiego na Mazowszu<sup>2</sup>, a być może, będzie miał także jakieś wytwory podobne do zespołów z Greńska. Oczywiście, stan badań stanowisk późnopalaeolitycznych i mezolitycznych nie jest dotychczas na tyle na Białorusi zaawansowany, aby można było przytoczyć czysto mezolityczne stanowiska z „czystym” przemysłem tardenuaskim oraz określić osiedla typu Kunda i Maglemose, które zwłaszcza powinny się znaleźć na Polesiu.

Neolit autor podręcznika rozpoczyna od niektórych danych dotyczących techniki produkcyjnych narzędzi z kamienia i krzemienia. Omawia też kopalnię krzemienia w Krasnej Wsi, którą pierwszy zbadał polski archeolog Z. Szmit, a potem badania te kontynuował St. Krukowski. Stwierdzając, że w jednym szybie tej kopalni znaleziono pochówek szkieletowy z inwentarzem podobnym do kultury rzucewskiej, autor

nie określa wyraźnie, z jaką konkretną kulturą należy łączyć powstanie tych kopalni. Stwierdza jedynie, że kopalnie te mogły być użytkowane długo, jak świadczy duża ilość odkrytych tam szybów. A przecież w tym wypadku warto by było przytoczyć parę hipotez istniejących w literaturze przedmiotu i choćby stwierdzić, że z kamienia wydobywanego w Krasnej Wsi korzystały już ludy z ceramiką grzebykową.

Pisząc o ceramice grzebykowej Zagorulskij wydziela w ślad za sformułowaniami D. Telegina „grupę dniewrowsko-doniecką”, która na obszarze Białorusi obejmuje dorzecze średniego i górnego Dniepru oraz wschodnią część dorzecza Prypeci. Ponieważ górny bieg Prypeci oraz dorzecze środkowego Niemna należy także do Białorusi, chcielibyśmy się dowiedzieć, do jakiej konkretnej grupy ceramiki grzebykowej zalicza autor to terytorium, gdyż twierdzenie ogólne, że grupa „dniewrowsko-doniecka” jest bliska grupie ceramiki „grzebykowej” środkowej Polski, a rozciąga się od dorzecza Niemna do Odry, nic nam nie mówi. Autor wprawdzie wspomina o istnieniu starszej i młodszej fazy tej ceramiki, pomija jednak wyniki badań polskiego archeologa A. Gardawskiego<sup>3</sup>, a w każdym razie go nie cytuje. Sądzę także, że nawet dla studentów autor za mało powiedział na temat etnicznej przynależności cyklu kultur „grzebykowych”, zadawalając się wypowiedzą D. Telegina<sup>4</sup> o rzekomej przynależności etnicznej kultury „dniewrowsko-donieckiej” do nie rozdzielonych jeszcze na dwie grupy Bałtosłowian<sup>5</sup>. Takie stanowisko nie zadowala i należy uznać je

<sup>3</sup> A. Gardawski, Zagadnienie kultury ceramiki grzebykowej w Polsce, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, t. XXV (1958), str. 247.

<sup>4</sup> D. Telegin, Ob etnicznoj prinalieźnosti dniewro-doneckoj kultury, „Tesiisy dokł. na zasedanijach poswjaščennych itogam polevyh issledowanij, 1963 g., Moskwa 1964.

<sup>5</sup> E. M. Zagorulskij, Archeologija Bielorusii, Minsk 1965, str. 34.

<sup>1</sup> V. D. Budz'ko, Ab adnasnaj starožyt-nasći i glełagicznym wroščie pomnikau świ-derskaj kultury u Białorusii, „Wiści Akademii BSSR”, nr 3 (1962), str. 91—95.

<sup>2</sup> St. Krukowski, Paleolit, „Prehlistoria ziem polskich”, Kraków 1939—1944, str. 103 i n.

za nie dopracowane w szczegółach i odpowiednio nie uargumentowane.

Jak wiadomo, okres neolitu był na obszarze Białorusi jako tako znany na skutek różnorodnych badań, zwłaszcza nad ceramiką „grzebykową”. Natomiast do lat pięćdziesiątych bieżącego stulecia o epoce brązu na tym obszarze niewiele było wiadomości. Dopiero w ostatnich latach poczyniono wielkie postępy w tym zakresie, a zwłaszcza nad kulturą „średniodnieprowską”, która najprawdopodobniej jest lokalnym wariantem różnych kultur ukraińskich, związanych z kulturą ceramiki sznurowej. Mimo tego ważnego postępu wiedzy o tej epoce dotychczas nie wiadomo, jaki był stosunek kultury „średniodnieprowskiej” do kultury amfor kulistych, którą do kultury Zagorulskiej błędnie oznacza na mapce (str. 39), jakoby obejmowała ona swym zasięgiem cały obszar bałtyjski od dolnej Wisły aż do Niemna. W rzeczywistości jej zasięg na obszarze pruskim jest peryferyczny i ogranicza się tylko do moreny mazurskiej. Artamienko określa koniec istnienia kultury „średniodnieprowskiej” na obszarze Białorusi do około 1500 przed n.e. i na to miejsce lokuje kulturę „sośnicką”. Ta ostatnia, jak się wydaje recenzentowi, jest lokalnym wariantem na obszarze tylko południowej Białorusi oddziaływania ku północy w dorzecze środkowego Dniepru i dolnej Prypeci kultury trzcinieckiej, czego zdaje się Zagorulskij nie dostrzegać w ślad za I. Artamienko. Świadczy o tym nie tylko ceramika, na której widoczne są także elementy „późnogrzebykowe” oraz trzcinieckie z charakterystycznym skośnym ścięciem krzywodzi wylewu naczynia, ale także formy domostw, formy pochówków itd.<sup>6</sup>

Kulturze trzcinieckiej poświęcił autor stosunkowo dużo miejsca. Przy tej

okazji wspomniał o zasługach w jej poznaniu archeologa polskiego A. Gardawskiego<sup>7</sup> i jest zdania, że zarówno ta kultura, jak i kultura komarowska były prasłowiańskimi. Autor nie przeanalizował jednak dokładnie zasięgu występowania ceramiki trzcinieckiej na północ od Prypeci w świetle badań Ju. Kucharenki i jej określenie na mapce (na str. 39) jest zbyt pobieżne i niedokładne\*. Nie wyjaśnił także, co znaczą odosobnione na razie punkty z ceramiką podobną do „trzcinieckiej” nad Niemnem w rejonie Grodna i na Mierzei Kurońskiej poza zwartym zasięgiem tej kultury. Sądzę, że należało inaczej także opracować mapkę na str. 39, gdzie autor pomieścił razem kultury neolityczne i brązowe. Nie jest to instruktywne ani dla studentów, ani dla przeciętnie wykształconego czytelnika. Sądzę, że powinno się osobno opracować mapkę z zasięgami kultur dla neolitu i osobno dla brązu. Wtedy autor uniknąłby niezręcznego ostatniego zdania na końcu rozdziału o epoce brązu, w którym twierdzi, iż można zauważyć, że na obszarze środkowego Niemna „około II tys. przed n.e. występuje już ceramika kreskowana („sztrychowana”) typowa dla litewskich zabytków z tego okresu” (str. 56). W ten sposób cały problem pogranicza bałtyjsko-słowiańskiego w epoce brązu na obszarze zachodniej Białorusi autor skwitował jednym zdaniem, a to się wydaje co najmniej niedostateczne mimo słabego postępu badań na tym odcinku. Nie wiadomo również na podstawie książki Zagorulskiego, gdzie na terenie Białorusi w epoce brązu mieszkali Bałtowie, a gdzie Słowianie. Czy kulturę „sośnicką” uważa autor za bałtyjską, czy za słowiańską oraz jakie zjawiska kulturowe w epoce brązu są wi-

<sup>7</sup> A. Gardawski, Plemiona kultury trzcinieckiej w Polsce, „Materiały Starożytne”, t. V (1959), str. 7—176 + 76 tablic.

<sup>8</sup> Ju. Kucharenko, Pierwobytnyje pamjatniki Polesja, Moskwa 1962 oraz tenże, Polesje v drevnosti „Munera Archaeologica J. Kostrzewski”, Poznań 1963, str. 57—62.

<sup>6</sup> S. S. Berezanskaja, Kultura trzciniecko-komarowskiego typu v severnych rajonach Ukrainy, „Testy dokladov sov. delegacii na I Miedzunarodnym Kongresie Slav. Archeologii v Varšavie”, Moskva 1963, str. 31—33.

doczne na północ od stwierdzonych ostatnich stanowisk z kulturą „sośniczką”. Publikuje on także jedną siekierkę podobną do siekier typu Mälär z „rejonu Mińskiego” (w rzeczywistości pochodząca ze znaleziska z okolic Borysowa, ze wsi Kurgan wg A. M. Tallgrena), ale nie wyjaśnia, co ona reprezentuje chronologicznie i kulturowo, chociaż w polskiej literaturze archeologicznej po wojnie już się tym problemem zajmowano<sup>9</sup>. Nie sądzę także, aby nie można było cytować dla studentów ważniejszej polskiej literatury archeologicznej, czego autor nie czyni systematycznie. Polscy studenci są podczas studiów obowiązani czytać wszystkie ważniejsze publikacje archeologów radzieckich — zarówno ogólne, jak i bardziej szczegółowe, a nawet ważne przyczynki. Sądzę, że to samo robią studenci białoruscy i rosyjscy. Tylko na tej podstawie może rozwijać się wzajemna pomoc i współpraca obu naszych nauk — na zasadach braterstwa i wzajemnego poszanowania zdobyczy naukowych naszych narodów.

Rozdział III poświęcony jest okresowi żelaza. Autor twierdzi, że okres żelaza na Białorusi należy odnieść do VII—VI wieku i dotyczy to tylko południowej Białorusi. Natomiast początek okresu żelaza na obszarze centralnej, północnej i północno-wschodniej Białorusi należy datować wg autora na V—IV wiek przed n.e. Byłoby interesujące, gdyby to twierdzenie autor zechciał zilustrować przykładami. Wiadomo powszechnie, że zmarły niedawno archeolog białoruski K. M. Polikarpowicz na podstawie skarbu ze wsi Urickoje, rejon Homel, datuje najwcześniejsze zespoły wczesnożelazne na Białorusi południowej na VI—V wiek przed n.e.<sup>10</sup>, co

wyduje się nam prawdopodobne. Oczywiście, jak sądzę, kulturę miłogradzką z Wołynia można datować nawet na drugą połowę VII w. przed n.e., a może i trochę wcześniej, ale są to zjawiska południowe, zsynchronizowane częściowo z kulturą wysocką, i na razie tych wczesnych studiów nie odkryto w dorzeczu Prypeci.

Ważne dla czytelnika w rozdziale omawiającym dzieje rolnictwa jest opublikowanie przez autora radła krzywo-grzędziowego z Kapłanowicz, rej. Mińsk, które niestety nie jest datowane. Sugerowanie w tej publikacji, że pochodzi ono z okresu wczesnożelaznego, jest niebezpieczne tym bardziej, że podobne do radła z Kapłanowicz polskie radła z Papowa i Wiewiórek nie są datowane analogicznie; przypuszcza się raczej, że pochodzą one z epoki brązu, za czym przemawiają naskalne rysunki w Szwecji.

Rozdział IV autor poświęcił omówieniu kultur okresu wczesnożelaznego na Białorusi. Rozpoczyna od opisów kultury łużyckiej i pomorskiej okresu lateńskiego, przy czym te ostatnią datuje na Polesiu w granicach od 300 do 100 lat przed n.e., co wydaje się prawdopodobne, jeśli chodzi o dolną granicę. Jeśli natomiast chodzi o górną granicę, to wydaje się, że kultura łużycko-pomorska kończy się na Polesiu około roku 125 przed n.e. W tym mniej więcej czasie powstała kultura zarubiniecka, która jest zsynchronizowana z kulturą przeworską okresu późno lateńskiego<sup>11</sup> jako produkt oddziaływań zdobyczy technologicznych plemion celtyckich; zdobycze te plemiona „przeworskie” i „zarubinieckie” przejęły w jednym czasie. Zwraca tu uwagę, że autor nie zna dokładniej wartościowej pracy D. A. Mačyńskiego<sup>12</sup>, która

<sup>9</sup> Wł. Antoniewicz, *Siekierki brązowe typu Mälär na Białorusi*, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, t. XXII (1955), str. 278—282 + 2 tabl. i 6 ryc. w tekście.

<sup>10</sup> K. M. Polikarpowicz, *Archeologiczkie issledowanija v BSSR v 1945—1953 gg.*,

„Materiały po archeologii BSSR”. Mińsk 1957, str. 16—17.

<sup>11</sup> J. Kostrzewski i inni, *Pradzieje Polski*, Warszawa 1965, str. 241 (datuje początek kultury przeworskiej na ok. 125 przed n.e.).

<sup>12</sup> D. A. Mačyński, *O chronologii*

ustaliła — jak się zdaje, dostatecznie jasno — początek kultury zarubinieckiej; chronologię jej powstawania zaakceptował także Ju. Kucharenko<sup>13</sup>.

Omawiając kulturę miogradzką autor określił na początku jej zasięg, który w szczegółach nie zgadza się z zasięgiem opublikowanym przez P. N. Tretjakova<sup>14</sup>. Zresztą autor w tych sprawach nie jest konsekwentny. Píše, że zasięg tej kultury na południu sięga źródła Bugu południowego, ale na mapie (na str. 69) tego nie uwidatnia, gdyż całe dorzecze Bugu południowego zaznaczono na tej mapce jako zajęte przez kulturę scytyjską lesostepu<sup>15</sup>. Nie jest dokładnie zaznaczona także ta ostatnia kultura, która — jak wiadomo — w dorzeczu Sejma miesza się najwyraźniej z osadnictwem kultury juchnowskiej. Nie wiadomo także, dlaczego autor na te same mapce na obszarze Prus i Kuronii za przewodni typ uznał „kurhanowe cmentarzyska plemion zachodnio-bałtyjskich”, czyli tym samym oparł się na niemieckich osiągnięciach naukowych z końca XIX i początku XX wieku, gdy mamy już późniejsze i bardziej rzeczowe osiągnięcia nauki polskiej<sup>16</sup> i radzieckiej<sup>17</sup> w postaci wyróżnionej grupy osiedli obronnych okresu halsztacko-

-lateńskiego i rzymskiego plemion pruskich i jaćwieskich. Również fałszywie na tej mapce zaznaczono zasięg kultury z ceramiką kreskowaną („sztrychowaną”) na zachodzie, gdyż jak wiadomo z ostatnich badań nauki litewskiej, sięga ona także i na obszar Żmudzi, a nawet półwyspa bałtyckiego<sup>18</sup>, niewątpliwie przekracza dorzecze łuku środkowego Niemna na Suwalszczyźnie<sup>19</sup> i jest widoczna nawet w górnym biegu Narwi na obszarze Polski<sup>20</sup>. Należałoby także zerwać z oznaczaniem na obszarze północnej Łotwy i Estonii „kamiennych kurhanów” Liwów i Estów i zastąpić je terminem bardziej ogólnym, tym bardziej że znamy już odpowiadające tym „kurhanom” pod względem chronologicznym grodziska<sup>21</sup>. Umieszczanie „kamiennych mogił Pribałtyki” obok kultur takich, jak miogradzka, zarubiniecka, juchnowska czy ceramiki kreskowanej, za którymi to terminami kryją się już konkretne zespoły osadnicze (a więc zarówno osiedla obronne, jak i osady otwarte, pochówki i skarby) jest anachronizmem. Sugeruje to, że badania nad obszarem „Pribałtyki” zatrzymały się w XIX wieku lub przynajmniej w okresie międzywojennym. Jak wiadomo, zarówno nauka radzieckiej Estonii, Łotwy i Litwy, jak i Polski Ludowej poszła wyraźnie naprzód i może się poszczycić sukcesami osiągniętymi „bez pomocy” kolonizatorów niemieckich. Tego jednak z kartowania Zagorulskiego nie wi-

niekatorych typów wieścej datirujuščich pamjatniki zarubinieckoj kultury, „Kratkoje Soobščenijsa”, t. 94 (1963).

<sup>13</sup> J. Kucharenko, Zarubinieckaja kultura, Moskva 1964, str. 54 (przyjmuje, że ukazała się ona „w końcu II w. przed n.e.”).

<sup>14</sup> P. N. Tretjakov, Drevnje gorodišča Smolenščiny, (w:) „Drevnije gorodišča Smolenščiny”, Moskva 1963, ryc. 1.

<sup>15</sup> E. M. Zagorulskij, Archeologija Bełorussii, Mińsk 1965, str. 69 (mapa).

<sup>16</sup> J. Antoniewicz, K archeologičeskomu użuceniju drevnego naselenija Pribałtyki, „Izviestija A. N. Estonskoj SSR”, t. VI (1957), str. 168—179; tenże, Z problematyki badań osadnictwa wczesnożelaznego na wschodnich Mazurach, „Rocznik Białostocki”, t. II (1961), str. 17—48; tenże, Osiedla obronne okresu wczesnożelaznego w Prusach, „Światowit”, t. XXV (1964), str. 5—207.

<sup>17</sup> F. D. Gurievicz, Iz istorii jugo-voščinoj Pribałtyki v I tys. n.e Moskva 1960, str. 328—451.

<sup>18</sup> P. Kulikauskas, Eadania archeologiczne na Litwie w latach 1955—1961, „Acta Baltico-Slavica” t. II (1965), str. 249 oraz ryc. 19.

<sup>19</sup> P. Kulikauskas, Naujas archeologinis paminklas Užnemunėje „Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akad. Darbai”, 1959, str. 71—87.

<sup>20</sup> J. Jaskanis, Wyniki badań kurhanu w Kuraszewie pow. Hajnówka, przeprowadzonych w 1961 r., „Rocznik Białostocki” t. IV (1963), str. 337.

<sup>21</sup> H. Moora, Muistsete linnuste unrimise tulemustest eesti NSV, „Muistsete asulad ja linnused”. Tallinn 1955, str. 46—87; M. H. Schmiehelm, Archeologičeskije pamjatniki perioda raz. rod. stroja na severo-voščinie Estonii. Tallinn 1955.

dać, kiedy operuje on pojęciami „kamiennych mogił” zamiast konkretnych kultur z ich bogatą treścią wewnętrzną, poznaną przez naukę radziecką i polską na podstawie badań wykopaliskowych osadnictwa bałtyjskiego i fińskiego.

Omawiając problematykę kultury miłogradzkiej autor zamieścił o tej kulturze wiele uwag słusznych i bezspornych. Szczególnie z wdzięcznością należy przyjąć jego wypowiedzi na temat wzajemnych związków kultury miłogradzkiej z kulturą trzciniacką i komarowską oraz na zwrócenie uwagi na kurhany typu Duboj, odkryte przez Kucharenkę nad Horyniem, gdzie znalazły się w jasnych zespołach elementy typowe dla kultury wysokiej razem z ceramiką typu miłogradzkiego<sup>22</sup>. Z drugiej strony jest rzeczą znamionną, że w kulturze miłogradzkiej występują w ceramice charakterystyczne okrągłe dna, typowe dla kultury bałtyjskiej obszaru Prus i środkowej Litwy. Na obszarze kultury miłogradzkiej występują także bałtyjskie szpile pastorałowate oraz znalazły się tutaj brązowe zawieszki trójkątne z guzkami, znane zresztą w jednym egzemplarzu z Polski ze skarbu z Ginetówki pow. Grójec<sup>23</sup>, datowanego na końcowy etap okresu halsztackiego. Jeśli się do tego doda fakt, że większość zajętego obszaru kultury miłogradzkiej wchodzi w terytorium zajęte przez hydronimię bałtyjską, autor nie powinien — moim zdaniem — poprzestać tylko na zreferowaniu stanowisk tylko dwóch uczonych radzieckich w zakresie etnicznej przynależności tej kultury. Sądzę, że istnieje dość argumentów za tym, aby uznać kulturę miłogradzką za peryferycznie słowiańską, która nie była — jak sądzi O. Mielnikowska — pod słabym wpływem północy<sup>24</sup>,

ale właśnie pod przemożnym jej wpływem. Odnosi się to do tej fazy, kiedy kultura miłogradzka w swym pochodzie ku północy osiągnęła dorzecze Prypeci lub nawet ją przekroczyła. A więc autor, moim zdaniem, powinien mocno zaznaczyć, że kultura miłogradzka jest kulturą strefy przejściowej bałto-słowiańskiej już po dokonaniem rozdzielenia się Bałtów od Słowian.

Ważne dane publikuje autor po raz pierwszy o zbadanych na Białorusi grodziskach kultury ceramiki kreskowanej, gdyż cały materiał dotyczący tej kultury z badań A. Mitrofanowa zalega dotychczas nie opublikowany poza mało liczącymi się fragmentami<sup>25</sup> i autoreferatem dysertacji<sup>26</sup>. Za słuszną należy uznać hipotezę autora, że chronologia proponowana przez A. Mitrofanowa jest zbyt wąska i że należy się spodziewać początków tej kultury znacznie wcześniej. Autor proponuje kulturę ceramiki kreskowanej zsynchronizować z kulturą miłogradzką, co się wydaje uzasadnione. Przypomnę, że według opinii litewskiej literatury archeologicznej, datę powstania ceramiki kreskowanej należy odnieść do epoki brązu<sup>27</sup>, co autor zdaje się dostrzegać powołując się na istnienie kreskowania na ceramice neolitycznej już w tak odległych epokach na tym terytorium. Oczywiście, uwagi F. D. Gurewicz o braku związku w zasięgu terytorialnym między areałami rozprzestrzeniania się ceramiki kreskowanej a areałami występowania litewskich kur-

rannego żelaznego wieka jugovostočnoj Belorussii, „Kratkije Soobščeniija Inst. Archeologii”, t. 94 (1963).

<sup>25</sup> A. M. Mitrofanov, Gorodišče v Vjazyńke, „Materiały po archeologii BSSR”, t. I (1957), str. 155—166 oraz A. G. Mitrofanov i V. P. Tarasenko, Typy zilišč na teritorii BSRR epoki rannego železa i rannego średnievekovja, „Voprosy etnografii Belorussii”, Mińsk 1964, str. 91—99.

<sup>26</sup> A. M. Mitrofanov, K'istorii naselenija Srednej Belorussii v epochu rannego železa, Leningrad 1955.

<sup>27</sup> R. Jablonskyté-Rimantienė, Pieriodizacija i topografija posielenij kamienogo i bronzovogo viekov v Litvie, Vilno 1962.

<sup>22</sup> Ju. Kucharienko, Pamjat'niki želez. veka na territorii Polessja. Moskva 1961, str. 21 i n.

<sup>23</sup> B. Chomentovska, Brązowy skarb halsztacki z miejsc. Ginetówka pow. Grójec, „Światowit”, t. XXIII (1960), str. 495 i n.

<sup>24</sup> C. Mielnikovskaja, Pamjat'niki

hanów nie warto przytaczać<sup>28</sup>. Po pierwsze dlatego, że zasięg tego typu pochówek nie jest determinowany tylko zwyczajami pogrzebowymi, ale także możliwością budowania ich przez poszczególne społeczeństwa na określonym terytorium. Jasną jest rzeczą, że np. na północnym Polesiu niemożliwe było budowanie kamiennych kurhanów, bo nie istniały tam odpowiednie warunki. Po drugie — w obrębie zasięgu kurhanów litewskich, a także poza ich zasięgiem żyły różne plemiona letto-litewskie. Wrazem tego jest inny charakter ceramiki kreskowanej Łotwy, a inna Litwy; inna jest także ceramika kreskowana zachodniej Białorusi i wschodniej Polski oraz inna w szczegółach w dorzeczu Berezyny. Gdyby A. Mitrofanow opublikował swe materiały, moglibyśmy już dziś na obszarze Białorusi wyróżnić kilka jej grup lokalnych na podstawie jego materiałów, a także materiałów jego poprzedników i badań polskich w dorzeczu górnej Narwi.

Dużą część tego rozdziału autor poświęcił obok innych kultur także kulturze zarubinieckiej, która z racji swego słowiańskiego pochodzenia była przedmiotem zainteresowań wielu archeologów, a także wzorowych opracowań i publikacji materiału archeologicznego. Nie będziemy się jednak bliżej w tej recenzji nią zajmować i jedynie zwrócimy uwagę, że autor w ramy kultury zarubinieckiej włącza materiały pochodzące od zarubinieckiej, ale z przymieszkami obcymi na obszarze dorzecza Desny i Sejma — co nie jest słuszne<sup>29</sup>. Jesteśmy zwolennikami tezy J. Kucharenki, że w rzeczywistości istnieją tylko trzy grupy kultury zarubinieckiej; poleska, średnio-naddnieprowska i górnonaddnieprowska. Inne stanowiska w dorzeczu Desny i Sej-

ma należy uznać za mieszaninę zarubiniecko-czerniachowską razem z przymieszkami bałtyjskimi. Recenzent jest również zdania, że cmentarzysko w Hryniewiczach Wielkich pow. Bielsk Podlaski wbrew sądom J. Kucharenki należy uznać za peryferyczne, zmieszane z elementami kultury przeworskiej, a więc nie „czyste” pod względem kulturowym.

Na uznanie zasługują uwagi autora na temat tzw. kultury „gocko-gepickiej” na obszarze Białorusi oraz wnioski jego na temat przemieszczenia się plemion słowiańskich z zachodu na wschód wzdłuż biegu Bugu i na Polesiu z grupami Gotów znad dolnej Wisły. Natomiast autor zapomniał chyba napisać, że jeszcze w pierwszej połowie I tys. n.e. występują u źródeł Łowaci na Witebszczyźnie grodziska z ceramiką siatkową przynależne do etnosu fińskiego lub będące pod wpływami kulturowymi tego etnosu.

Koniec okresu wędrowek ludów charakteryzuje się na południowej Białorusi pojawieniem się ceramiki typu „praskiego”, którą można wiązać z osadnictwem słowiańskim. Jednocześnie trwało tam niewątpliwie osadnictwo bałtyjskie, które jednak trudno jest archeologicznie wyróżnić na podstawie materiału ceramicznego z osad i osiedli obronnych. Dzieje się tak dlatego, że na styku z dzierzawami słowiańskimi następuje przejście stylu „praskiego” jako pewnej modnej manieri determinowanej także względami praktycznymi. Także jednym z powodów tej trudności jest brak precyzji w ustalaniu lokalnych grup ceramiki tzw. „praskiego typu” w całej wschodniej Europie, gdyż niewątpliwie ta prymitywna w formie ceramika była zarówno wskaźnikiem osadnictwa słowiańskiego, jak i także osadnictwa obcego, które się w strefach kontaktowych stykało ze Słowianami. Autor omawiając oblicze kulturowe obiektów obronnych w VI—VIII wieku na Białorusi nie zajmuje w tej sprawie żadnego stanowiska. Czy to jest słuszne? Wydaje

<sup>28</sup> F. D. Guriewič, Drevnosti Bežorusskogo Poniemania, Moskwa 1962, str. 35.

<sup>29</sup> Por. tutaj krytyczną ocenę tych tendencji, opublikowaną przez J. Antoniewiczza w t. II „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, str. 392—395.

się, że mimo fanego ostatnio wypowiedzianego poglądu P. N. Tretiakova<sup>30</sup> poddałbym w wątpliwość czysto „słowiański” charakter ceramiki z grodziska w miejsc. Koločin (rej. Gomel)<sup>31</sup>, a także ceramikę z „Zamkowej Góry” koło Borysowa<sup>32</sup>. Znaleziony tam materiał jest niewątpliwie podobny do ceramiki z grodzisk Litwy i Łotwy, ma bowiem takie same wysokie nie profilowane kształty; wspomnę także, że w Prusach na stanowisku Tumiany koło Olsztyna obok typowej pruskiej ceramiki z okienkami występuje ceramika podobna do typu „praskiego”, a więc rzekomo „słowiańska”<sup>33</sup>. W każdym razie trzeba zauważyć, że ceramika z wyżej wymienionych grodzisk Białorusi jest zgoła różna od ceramiki z grodziska Chotomel na południowym Polesiu, gdzie znalazły się naczynia typu „praskiego”. Prócz tego stanowisko Chotomel dostarczyło dwóch radlic i jednego kroju, które datują nam doskonale uprawę ziemi w leśnej strefie północno-wschodniej Europy już chyba w VIII wieku. Tym kapitalnym odkryciem nie bardzo się przejął autor podręcznika, skoro nie widział potrzeby to szczęśliwie znalezione odpowiednio zinterpretować.

Autor zajmuje się także pojawieniem się pierwszych słowiańskich plemion na obszarze Białorusi. Rozpoczyna on od Krywiczów, którzy najwcześniej mieli się znaleźć naprzód w rejonie Pskowa na obszarze etnicznym fińskim, a potem z czasem mieli opanowywać powoli obszar połockiego Naddźwinia oraz Smoleńszczyznę. Autor referuje tu stan

badania i opiera się na uogólnieniach V. V. Siedova. Jest rzeczą słuszną, że nie podaje jednak do podręcznika jego hipotezy o przybyciu Krywiczów z obszaru północno-wschodniej Polski, która to hipoteza mimo sugestywnej argumentacji na razie jest nie do przyjęcia i spotkała się z krytyką w polskiej literaturze przedmiotu<sup>34</sup>. Mimo to autor nie mógł się całkowicie wyzwolnić z błędów V. V. Siedova zakładając za nim jakoby istnienie nad Bugiem wydłużonych kurhanów (str. 127), co nie jest słuszne i zostało w literaturze przedmiotu sprostowane. Zagorulskij nie wdaje się także w omawianie specyficznych cech kultury Krywiczów oraz nie podkreśla, co słusznie zrobił V. V. Siedov, ich na wespół bałtyjskie pochodzenie, co wynika już choćby z tego, że są oni nosicielami wielu cech kultury bałtyjskiej. Podobny problem związany jest z drugim słowiańskim zespołem etnicznym, a mianowicie z Dregowiczami, którzy także swym zasięgiem obejmowali dawne dzierżawy bałtyjskie. W tym wypadku Zagorulskij stwierdza słusznie, że tylko południowa część obszaru dregowickiego w VI—VIII wieku jest w zasięgu ceramiki typu praskiego. Powstaje pytanie, jaki element etniczny w tym czasie tkwił na tym terytorium poza kręgiem zasięgu ceramiki typu praskiego. Na to autor przezornie nie daje jasnej odpowiedzi, a sędzę, że należałoby w tej sprawie zająć wyraźne stanowisko, a nie powoływać się na przytoczone przez V. V. Siedova dane antropologiczne. Na stronie 130 znajduje się także oczywisty błąd merytoryczny w podpisach pod ilustracjami, uwidoczniającymi kablączki skroniowe dregowickie i krywickie.

Do najsłabszych partii tego rozdziału należy zaliczyć część poświęconą litewskim i jaćwieskim elementom etycznym drugiej połowy I tys. na obszarze

<sup>30</sup> P. N. Tretiakov, „O drewnostlach serediny i tretej četverti I tys. w jużnych častjach verchnego Połnieprovia, „Soviet-skaja Archieologija” 1963 z. 4, str. 63—77.

<sup>31</sup> E. A. Symonovič, Gorodišča Koločin i na Gomelščine, Moskva 1963.

<sup>32</sup> I. S. Kravčenko, Itogi i zadači archieologičeskogo izučenija BSRR, „Treziszy doklady na zasiedaniach...”, Moskva 1963, str. 3 (materiały te znam z autopsji).

<sup>33</sup> Zbiory Muzeum Mazurskiego w Olsztynie.

<sup>34</sup> Rec. V. V. Siedov, Krivičič opublikovana w t. III „Rocznika Białostockiego” (str. 462—466) przez K. Musianowicz.



zachodniej Białorusi. To, co autor napisał o Jaćwieży, jest zgrupowaniem ogólników, które nie mają żadnej wartości ani pokrycia w realnym materiale archeologicznym. Jest to jakieś dalekie echo wywodów V. V. Siedova<sup>35</sup> bez szczegółowego zapoznania się z tym zagadnieniem od strony merytorycznej. Nie wiem na przykład, na jakiej podstawie autor widzi Jaćwingów i kulturę jaćwieską w drugiej połowie I tys. n.e. w dorzeczu całego białoruskiego Niemna oraz jakie materiały archeologiczne upoważniają Zagorulskiego lokować Jaćwingów w tym czasie w rejonie zachodniego Bugu. Jest to przecież nieporozumienie, które nie wymaga komentarzy, gdyż jedynym stanowiskiem z okresu wędrowek ludów jest stanowisko Dworaki-Pikaty pow. Wysokie Mazowieckie oprócz protojaćwieskich kurhanów typu Rostółty między Bugiem a Supraślą. Ślady te jednak urywają się gdzieś w V wieku i na razie nie mamy o tych elementach etnicznych żadnych danych aż po początek II tys, ale już na północ od Biebrzy. Również elementy litewskie występujące na zachodniej Białorusi, autor opisał zbyt pobieżnie i sformułowania jego nie odzwierciedlają zasięgu wschodniolitewskich elementów etnicznych na obszarze zachodniej Białorusi, mimo że zagadnienia te doczekały się przecież dokładnego opracowania ze strony litewskiego badacza A. Tautavičiusa<sup>36</sup>. Nie jest np. prawdą, że chowa się pod kurhanami spalone na stosie szczątki konia razem z jego właścicielem, gdyż w tym czasie występują dwa rodzaje pochówków koniskich, zarówno szkieletowe, jak i ciałopalne, oraz występuje gradacja ich chowania w zależności od lokalnych czynników itp. W sumie przedstawiony obraz w podręczniku tej problematyki

jest błąd i właściwie ograniczony tylko do zjawisk VI—VIII wieku, a o kulturze litewskiej początku II tys. n.e. na Białorusi wspomniano tylko mimochodem.

Ostatnie rozdziały swego podręcznika autor poświęcił okresowi wczesnośredniowiecznemu, a właściwie kulturze staroruskiej tego obszaru, zapominając zupełnie o tym, że na zachodniej Białorusi w dalszym ciągu istniały elementy wschodniolitewskie. Nie będziemy referować tutaj słusznych lub dyskusyjnych poglądów autora. Czytając uszeregowane tematycznie poszczególne części tych opracowań widzimy, że autor zna się dobrze na tej problematyce, skoro wypowiada nieraz sądy już samodzielnie w przeciwieństwie do rozdziałów poprzednich. Oczywiście, nie ze wszystkimi można się zgodzić. Tak na przykład, niektóre sformułowania, dotyczące podstaw gospodarczych wczesnośredniowiecznej wsi ruskiej na Białorusi, budzą wątpliwość. Zagorulskij nie wypowiada się, kiedy na tym obszarze powstawało rolnictwo orne i jaka jest chronologiczna specyfika tego zjawiska w poszczególnych regionach. Również nie wypowiada się, czy obok rolnictwa ornego istniała w dalszym ciągu wypaleniskowa technika uprawy ziemi. W tej sprawie jest on zupełnie niezdecydowany. Na str. 152 pisze, że „... na Rusi w końcu I tys. n.e. rolnictwo orne już było powszechne”, a dwie strony dalej znajdujemy takie sformułowanie: „Przy niewątpliwej powszechności rolnictwa ornego w omawianym okresie gospodarka wypaleniskowa, zwłaszcza jako sposób uprawy łąki leśnych, odgrywała jeszcze niemałą rolę” (str. 154). Wydaje się, że w tej kwestii autor powinien zająć bardziej zdecydowane stanowisko, tym bardziej, że w ostatnich latach narosła, zwłaszcza w Polsce, bogata literatura przedmiotu i charakter leśnej strefy, do jakiej należała cała Białoruś, mówi sam za siebie. Stałe rolnictwo orne, jak sądzi, istnieje od dłuższego czasu na obszarze wsi położonych w rejonie waż-

<sup>35</sup> V. V. Siedov, *Kurgany Jatviagov*, „Sovietская Archeologija”, Nr 4/1964, str. 36—51.

<sup>36</sup> A. Tautavičius, *Vostočnolitevskije kurgany*, (w:) „Voprosy etničeskoj istorii narodov Pribalтики”, Moskva 1959, str. 128—153.

niejszych centrów feudalnych i te centra żywiących. Można także mieć wątpliwości co do terytorialnego rozprzestrzenienia się narzędzi ornych. Autor sugeruje nam, że socha była typowym narzędziem strefy leśnej, pług zaś używano na terenie lasostepu. Oczywiście, sformułowanie to nie jest śluszne, gdyż niewątpliwie pług z krojem jest poświadczony z badań w Lubomlu i to rewelacyjnie wcześnie, bo wg ostatnich badań Kucharenki z VIII wieku<sup>37</sup>. Autor przytacza fakty świadczące o przewadze żyta jako ziarna produkowanego przez wczesnośredniowieczną wieś na Białorusi, ale nie zastanowił się, jak daleko wstecz jest poświadczone na Białorusi i na Litwie żyto i jakie były podstawowe przyczyny jego wysiewu w tym rejonie wobec powszechności w tym czasie plantacji jęczmienia i pszenicy itd.

Interesujące wiadomości zebrał autor na temat staroruskich grodów na Białorusi. Niestety, omówił tylko te, które były badane przez naukę radziecką. Rażąco jest tu brak opisów ciekawych odkryć, dokonanych przez naukę polską w Dawidgródku na Połesiu<sup>38</sup>. Omawiając wykopaliska w Grodnie autor między innymi twierdzi, że obok ceramiki typowej dla kultury ruskiej, jaką reprezentuje to stanowisko, znalazła się tam także ceramika „miejskowa”, ale zapomniał dodać, jaka (mazowiecka?, typu drohiczyńskiego?). Mówiąc o cerkwi Borysa i Gleba w Grodnie zapomniał podkreślić także, że na sakralnych budowlach grodzieńskich, wykazujących wiele oryginalności w porównaniu z innymi budowlami Rusi, widać także wpływy sztuki romańskiej (str. 208)<sup>39</sup>. Ślady

wpływów sztuki romańskiej zauważył także Wł. Antoniewicz, publikując pochodzącą z cerkwi grodzieńskiej aquamanilę, która ma wiele analogii na zachodzie Europy<sup>40</sup>. Nie uwzględniono także w tym podręczniku ważnego wyniku badań polskiego archeologa Wł. Hołubowicza. Stwierdził on mianowicie, że w Grodnie już w XII—XIII wieku istniała organizacja rzemieślników, którzy wyrabiali między innymi cegłę, a także wznosili budynki z tego materiału<sup>41</sup>. Cegły i wątki architektoniczne w Grodnie rzemieślnicy znaczyli znakami księżęcym, ponieważ znajdowali się oni w pełnej zależności osobistej od księcia. Oprócz tego istnieli także w Grodnie, analogicznie jak w Nowogrodzie Wielkim, „prywatni” rzemieślnicy, producenci cegieł, którzy mieli prawo znakować swoje wytwory innymi znakami, prawdopodobnie własnymi. Jak sądzę, dowodziłoby to dość zaawansowanego we wczesnośredniowiecznym Grodnie procesu różnicowania organizacyjnego i socjalnego tego rzemiosła, analogicznie jak to było np. w Nowogrodzie Wielkim<sup>42</sup>.

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Kończąc tę recenzję nie sposób zwrócić uwagi na to, że konstrukcja ogólna tego podręcznika nie jest harmonijna i konsekwentna pod względem chronologicznym i kulturowym. Autor połączył — jak pisaliśmy — wiele zjawisk z końca neolitu z epoką brązu; np. ni stąd, ni z owąd „poleska grupa ceramiki sznurowej” znalazła się w tym samym rozdziale, co śródkowobrazowe kultury trzeciniecka i sońska. Okres rzyński nie został wyraźnie oddzielony

<sup>37</sup> Ju. V. Kucharenko, *Sredniekovejye pamjatniki Polessja*. Moskwa 1961.

<sup>38</sup> R. Jakimowicz, *Tymczasowe sprawozdanie z wykopalisk w Dawidgródku*, „Spraw. PAU”, t. 42 (1959), str. 272 oraz tenże, *Dawidgródek*, Pińsk 1939.

<sup>39</sup> M. Walicki, *Cerkiew św. Borysa i Gleba na Kołozy pod Grodnem*, (w:) „Studia do dziejów sztuki w Polsce”, Warszawa 1923, str. 1—13.

<sup>40</sup> W. Antoniewicz, *Aquamanile du moyen âge de Grodno*, (w:) „Revue Archéologique”, Paris 1924, str. 23—27.

<sup>41</sup> W. Hołubowicz, *Znaki rodowe i inne na przedmiotach z wykopalisk w Grodnie*, „Slavia Antiqua”, t. I (1948), str. 572—581.

<sup>42</sup> M. Tichomirov, *Купецких и ремесленных объединений в древней Руси*, „Voprosy Istorii”, t. I (1943), str. 22—33.

od okresu halszacko-lateńskiego. W wielu wypadkach widać, że autor referuje tylko różne obce poglądy, a nie potrafi z tych poglądów wyciągnąć jakiegoś oryginalnego własnego poglądu, który wprost narzuca się myślącemu czytelnikowi jako oczywisty. Problem wspólnoty bałto-słowiańskiej dla autora w zupełności nie istnieje poza cytowaną wypowiedzią Telegina. Nie istnieje także pojęcie granicy etnicznej między Bałtami a Słowianami, a także między Słowianami a Finami. A przecież autor powinien przedstawić ten problem w rozwoju historycznym, w jasnym, logicznym układzie. Trzeba także powiedzieć, że kultury archeologiczne w opisach autora niejednokrotnie zawieszono są w przestrzeni kosmicznej, a nie sprowadzone do konkretnych warunków, w jakich stykały się z innymi kulturami i etnosami. Tło gospodarcze i społeczne rozwoju poszczególnych społeczeństw zarysowane jest słabo, gdyż tylko w rozdziałach poprzedzających daną epokę. A przecież na całym terytorium Białorusi rozwój produkcji w obrębie poszczególnych okresów i kultur miał swój specyficzny charakter, co z kolei decydowało o stosunkach produkcji. Autor nie zajął żadnego stanowiska i nie wyjaśnił czytelnikowi, jaka była przyczyna rozwoju państwowego Litwy i słabości księstw ruskich od XIII wieku, która doprowadziła do integracji całego terytorium ruskiego w obręb państwa litewskiego za Gedymina (1316—1341), co chyba było istotną potrzebą merytoryczną tej publikacji.

W sumie pracę Zagorulskiego należy ocenić pozytywnie i uważać ukazanie się „Archieologii Białorusii” za objaw niezwykle do d a t n i w archeologii białoruskiej i słowiańskiej, a także bałtyjskiej. Jest ona próbą przedstawienia obrazu poszczególnych kultur w różnych odcinkach pradziejów tego obszaru oraz próbą zbilansowania i uogólnienia dotychczasowych wyników badań archeologicznych. Na podstawie wysuniętych

tutaj wątpliwości lub zarzutów można się chyba spodziewać, że temat ten czeka w najbliższej przyszłości na drugie wydanie lub na następnego autora. Jak sądzimy na podstawie już obecnie dostępnych materiałów będzie można napisać bardziej wnikliwie pradžię tego obszaru, uszeregować bardziej metodycznie materiał w zakresie chronologii oraz wydobyć plastycznie skomplikowany obraz procesów etnicznych, których widownią była ziemia Białorusi. Autor jest pionierem w opracowywaniu tego tematu i dlatego nie ustrzegł się wielu niedomówień i nie mógł ten problem przedstawić z natury rzeczy bezbłędnie.

Jerzy Antoniewicz

V. D. Bud'ko, *Paleolit Bielorusi* (Le Paléolithique biélorusse) Leningrad 1962.

La thèse de licence de M. V. D. Bud'ko, présentée dans un résumé établi par l'auteur et publiée en 1962 par l'Académie des Sciences de Leningrad, est un ouvrage incontestablement utile dans les recherches sur le Paléolithique de la Biélorussie.

L'ouvrage se compose de sept chapitres; dans l'avant-propos qui les précède, l'auteur définit les buts de son travail, qui sont les suivants: a) un bilan des résultats des recherches sur le Paléolithique de la Biélorussie, exécutées jusqu'au moment actuel — compte tenu des matériaux livrés par les fouilles effectuées par l'auteur en 1958—1961, b) une tentative d'établir la chronologie relative des stations, appuyée sur des critères archéologiques et géologiques, confrontés avec les matériaux provenant des territoires avoisinants, enfin c) l'explication de certaines questions rattachées à l'habitat humain de la Biélorussie à l'époque du Paléolithique supérieur.

Les sources qui ont servi de point de départ à cet ouvrage se composent, en premier lieu, de matériaux livrés par les recherches de l'auteur et, de plus,

de données — encore incomplètement publiées — fournies par les stations peu nombreuses, explorées en 1924—1939 par K. M. Polikarpovič. L'auteur a confronté ces matériaux avec ceux provenant des stations Ieliseviči et Iudinovo, ainsi que ceux des stations situées dans le bassin de la Desna et dans celui du Don. En s'appuyant sur la bibliographie du sujet, l'auteur a fait entrer également en ligne de compte certaines stations des pays voisins, dont quelques stations polonaises.

Le I<sup>er</sup> chapitre présente l'histoire des recherches paléolithiques en territoire de la Biélorussie, en tenant compte, en premier lieu, des explorateurs ayant joué dans leur développement un rôle particulièrement important. L'auteur souligne le mérite de K. M. Polikarpovič dont l'activité constitue le début des recherches systématiques dans ce domaine.

Le chapitre II présente une revue des problèmes rattachés à l'habitat humain de la Biélorussie au cours du Quaternaire, établie à l'aide de données paléogéographiques par M. L. N. Vozniatšuk (la prononciation est Vozniatshouk), géologue, travaillant en collaboration avec l'auteur.

Dans les chapitres III et IV, l'auteur présente les résultats des fouilles exécutées par K. M. Polikarpovič et S. N. Zamiatnin dans les stations du village de Berdyž (la prononciation est Bierdij). En s'appuyant sur ses propres explorations supplémentaires, l'auteur met en doute certaines opinions, généralement admises jusqu'au moment actuel, au sujet de l'ancienneté des matériaux archéologiques qui y ont été découverts. Il met surtout en question l'âge de l'ensemble d'antiquités identifiées par K. M. Polikarpovič comme moustériennes (station de Podlužje II — la prononciation est Podloujé). De son côté, l'auteur rapporte cet ensemble aux débuts du Paléolithique supérieur, en s'appuyant sur l'analyse des

formes des outils et sur les données géologiques. Il souligne cependant, qu'il ne croit point impossible que l'on puisse découvrir, dans l'avenir, des stations moustériennes dans le territoire de la Biélorussie, d'autant plus qu'elles existent dans les terrains attenants à ses parties sud et sud-est.

D'autre part, M. V. D. Bud'ko, en s'appuyant sur des données géologiques et typologiques, rapporte un autre ensemble de matériaux archéologiques provenant de la région de Berdyž (Podlužje I) à une étape plus récente du développement de la civilisation de Kostenki-Avdiejevo (le début du stade poméranien du Würmien). Il constate également que des ensembles archéologiques semblables à celui de Podlužje I existent, outre l'Europe orientale, en territoire de la Tchécoslovaquie (Předmost, Pavlov, Dolní Věstonice, Petřkovice), et que ceux de certains niveaux des stations de Willendorf I et II en semblent rapprochés. L'auteur considère les matériaux archéologiques de Podlužje I comme un chaînon intermédiaire, permettant de rattacher la civilisation de Kostenki-Avdiejevo au Gravettien avancé de Tchécoslovaquie et d'Autriche.

Le chapitre V traite de la station de Iureviči (la prononciation est Iourevitshi), à deux niveaux, explorée en 1929—1931 par K. M. Polikarpovič, et étudiée dernièrement par l'auteur. D'après l'opinion de M. V. D. Bud'ko, le niveau inférieur de cette station accuse des affinités typologiques avec la station d'Aleksandrovka, et les pointes de Gravette dont on y a constaté la présence sont analogues à celles des stations de Podlužje I et de Ieliseviči. Chronologiquement, l'auteur situe ce niveau, ainsi que la station de Podlužje I, dans la seconde moitié du stade poméranien. Le niveau supérieur de la station de Iureviči, séparé de l'inférieur par une couche stérile, recèle des matériaux archéologiques qui rappellent ceux de la station de Ieliseviči. Cette analogie se

manifeste tant dans les formes des outils, que dans l'application du même ornement sur les produits en os. L'auteur rapporte ces deux stations à une époque avancée de la première moitié du stade poméranien.

La chapitre VI est particulièrement intéressant; il traite d'une civilisation du Paléolithique supérieur, découverte et distinguée par l'auteur, à laquelle il a donné le nom de Grensko-Svidérien. En s'appuyant sur l'analyse des matériaux archéologiques, ainsi que sur des observations géologiques, et en confrontant ces critères avec les industries du cycle mazovien, M. V. D. Bud'ko distingue dans le Grensko-Svidérien trois groupes chronologiques, reliés génétiquement l'un à l'autre: le groupe ancien, moyen et récent. Il les rapporte tous les trois à la seconde moitié du stade poméranien. En détail, il divise cette civilisation comme suit: le groupe ancien (stations de Podłuże III et de Kóromka) qui date du Dryas I (le Dryas le plus ancien); le groupe moyen (stations de Grensk et de Latki) qui ne peut être postérieur à l'interstade d'Alleröd; le groupe récent (niveau supérieur de la station de Latki et les stations du bassin du Sej, de la Pripet, etc.) qui correspond à l'interstade de l'Alleröd.

Selon l'opinion de l'auteur, les matériaux archéologiques appartenant au groupe ancien accusent des liaisons étroites avec les stations de l'époque magdalénienne du bassin de la Desna moyenne, alors que les matériaux qui représentent le groupe moyen se rapprochent des ensembles chronologiquement précédents. L'auteur considère les matériaux archéologiques appartenant au groupe récent du Grensko-Svidérien comme une continuation évolutive du groupe moyen; les formes géométriques et les tranchets qui y font leur apparition constituent un élément nouveau. Selon l'opinion de l'auteur, les tranchets tirent origine des influences exercées par les civilisations du Nord européen.

Dans chacun de ces groupes, l'auteur constate la présence des pointes mazoviennes. Le groupe ancien contient des pointes mazoviennes „de forme ancienne”, le deuxième — „des pointes mazoviennes rapprochées de celles du Svidérien ancien”, et le groupe récent — „des pointes mazoviennes à pédoncule”. Ensuite, M. V. D. Bud'ko établit des rapports chronologiques entre ces trois groupes et les différentes industries du cycle mazovien. Il constate que les matériaux archéologiques du groupe ancien, „au point de vue stratigraphique et typologique”, sont antérieurs aux stations de la phase ancienne du cycle mazovien. Le groupe moyen du Grensko-Svidérien correspond chronologiquement à l'industrie svidérienne, et le groupe récent au Pludien. L'auteur finit ce chapitre en formulant l'opinion suivante: selon son avis, les données nouvellement obtenues exigent un changement de la datation des ensembles „azilo-svidériens”, généralement rapportés jusqu'à présent à l'Holocène, c'est-à-dire au Mésolithique, et que l'on devrait identifier comme appartenant au Paléolithique final.

Dans le dernier chapitre, qui présente le bilan du raisonnement de l'auteur, celui-ci revient encore une fois à la question de la civilisation grensko-svidérienne. Il met en relief les rapports génétiques qui relient nettement les matériaux archéologiques appartenant à cette civilisation aux ensembles — chronologiquement antérieurs — du Paléolithique supérieur biélorusse. Ensuite, l'auteur met en évidence les liaisons nettement perceptibles qui existent entre le Grensko-Svidérien et le cycle mazovien polonais (le Svidérien); il constate néanmoins que ces affinités ne constituent pas une preuve suffisante pour faire accepter l'hypothèse selon laquelle les tribus svidériennes auraient immigré en territoire de la Biélorussie. Selon l'avis de l'auteur, les rapports génétiques qui relient le Gren-

sko-Svidérien aux ensembles du Paléolithique supérieur qui l'avaient précédé témoignent contre cette supposition; un autre argument qui la contredit consiste dans l'existence d'un grand espace marécageux impraticable, séparant la Biélorussie occidentale de la Pologne et faisant obstacle à tout contact entre la population de ces deux territoires.

La caractère spécifique de la publication présentée dans cette mention (résumé d'auteur, c'est-à-dire abrégé très concis d'une thèse de licence d'ampleur probablement beaucoup plus grande) empêche une évaluation approfondie des questions dont traite M. V. D. Bud'ko. Cette difficulté se fait surtout ressentir dans la lecture des parties de l'ouvrage où, pour pouvoir juger de la justesse des opinions de l'auteur, il serait indispensable de s'appuyer sur une documentation en forme d'illustrations, qui — évidemment — fait absence dans le résumé d'auteur. Aussi les remarques ci-dessous seront-elles limitées à quelques questions, présentées en traits généraux.

À ce qu'il semble, il y a lieu de traiter avec beaucoup de prudence les rapports que l'auteur établit entre la civilisation de Kostenki-Avdieïevo et le Gravettien de l'Europe centrale. Cette réserve est imposée, en premier lieu, par l'absence d'une division culturelle définitivement établie, qui partagerait ces ensembles archéologiques, rattachés en grande partie au Würmien, en ensembles de l'Europe orientale et ceux de l'Europe centrale. La datation de certaines stations de cette période en territoire de la Russie n'est pas encore — elle non plus — établie en toute certitude. L'auteur le soulève lui-même, en disant qu'il est regrettable que l'interprétation géologique des stations aussi importantes que celles de Kostenki et d'Avdieïevo soit toujours encore contestable et discutée.

La situation stratigraphique du stade poméranien n'est pas exposée par

M. V. D. Bud'ko avec une clarté suffisante: l'auteur situe par exemple dans sa seconde moitié le Grensko-Svidérien qui est une civilisation du Paléolithique final. Tout semble indiquer que l'auteur situe le stade poméranien dans le déclin et la fin du Pléistocène, ce qui serait en désaccord avec l'opinion généralement admise sur la division du Würmien et des époques immédiatement subséquentes.

L'auteur a établi l'existence d'une civilisation nouvelle, ce qu'il faut considérer sans conteste comme un mérite et un succès; les matériaux archéologiques de cette civilisation, à caractère spécifique mais rapproché de ceux des stations de l'époque magdalénienne du bassin de la Desna et contenant des pointes mazoviennes, sont identifiés par l'auteur comme une civilisation à part, à laquelle il donne le nom de Grensko-Svidérien. Dans la bibliographie polonaise du sujet<sup>1</sup> cependant, une grande partie des stations de cette civilisation sont considérées comme un chaînon chronologique et typologique de l'évolution d'un cycle industriel originel, où les éléments du cycle mazovien, constatés en forme de pointes en feuille de saule, ne sont qu'une manifestation des influences industrielles du cycle mazovien, exercées, entre autres, dans le territoire de la Biélorussie. De ce point de vue, il serait plutôt difficile d'accepter pour cette civilisation le nom de Grensko-Svidérien. Dans la manière de voir les choses adoptée par M. V. D. Bud'ko, le caractère du rapport entre la civilisation grensko-svidérienne et le cycle mazovien n'est pas suffisamment clair. L'auteur cherche à expliquer ce rapport par une immigration des „tribus svidérien-

<sup>1</sup> R. Schild, *Paleolit końcowy i schyłkowy* (Le Paléolithique final et l'extrême fin du Paléolithique), dans: „Materiały do prehistorii ziem polskich” (Matériaux pour l'étude de la préhistoire des territoires de la Pologne), I partie, *Paleolit i mezolit* (Le Paléolithique et le Mésolithique), Varsovie 1961 (polycopié).

nes" en territoire biélorusse, mais rejette lui-même cette hypothèse, pour des raisons dont il a déjà été question ci-dessus. Ajoutons, que l'opinion de l'auteur, selon laquelle le groupe ancien de la civilisation grensko-svidérienne serait antérieur au Svidérien, qui est le chaînon le plus ancien du cycle mazovien, ne semble pas juste. Bien que l'industrie svidérienne ne soit pas encore datée en toute précision, on sait que le Dryas le plus ancien est son terminus post quem, et le milieu de l'Alleröd son terminus ante quem. De plus, l'auteur ne dit pas en quoi se manifeste cette antériorité du groupe ancien du Grensko-Svidérien par rapport à l'industrie svidérienne.

Pour finir, il faudrait souligner encore une fois la valeur de cet ouvrage qui est le premier qui présente un tableau général du Paléolithique de la Biélorussie et qui fasse le bilan des connaissances actuelles sur ce domaine.

Maria Marczak

J. Antoniewicz, *Historia badań nad roziedleniem plemion bałtyjskich oraz ich kulturą materialną w starożytności — V w. przed n.e. — V w. n.e.* (History of the researches on dislocation and material culture of the Baltic tribes in antiquity — 5th century B.C. — 5th A.C.) „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, Nr. 3(29), Olsztyn 1965, str. 337—352.

Przykład ostatnich kilkunastu lat dowodzi o wzroście zainteresowania badawczego sprawami dawnych Bałtów. Widoczne to jest w dziedzinie archeologii i innych pokrewnych czy współdziałających dyscyplin ważnych dla poznania procesu dziejowego w starożytności i wczesnym średniowieczu. Stan ten jest niewątpliwie wynikiem rozwoju nauki i postępu w badaniach dokonywującego się w radzieckich republikach nadbałtyckich oraz udziału w tych pracach przewodnich ośrodków naukowych ZSRR. Zainteresowania problematyką bałtyjską pozostają też często w przy-

czynowym związku z postępowaniem badań nad Słowiańszczyzną; przy okazji tych ostatnich nie sposób, zwłaszcza w odniesieniu do wschodniego jej odłamu, pomijając zagadnienia związane z osadnictwem, kulturą, gospodarką sąsiednich plemion bałtyjskich. W rozwijaniu badań nad Bałtami ważne miejsce zajmują też poczynania polskich badaczy. Podejmują oni prace nad problemami dotyczącymi szczególnie zachodniego odłamu Bałtów co uzasadnione jest faktem, że północno-wschodnia część Polski obejmuje znaczną część ziem dawnych Prusów i Jaćwingów. Badaczem systematycznie powiększającym na gruncie nauki polskiej znajomość dawniejszej przeszłości plemion bałtyjskich jest Jerzy Antonicz mający już znaczny dorobek naukowy poparty osiągnięciami organizacyjnymi.

Jedną z ostatnich jego prac to nieduży objętościowo ale ważki artykuł, pomieszczony w jednym z dwóch periodyków historycznych wydawanych przez środowisko olsztyńskie. Artykuł poświęcony jest historii badań nad Bałtami w aspekcie rozmieszczenia przestrzennego tego masywu językowego i etnicznego oraz jego kultury materialnej. W istocie dotyczy on całokształtu spraw ujawnionych przez badania archeologiczne, wsparte stwierdzeniami językoznawców i historyków a więc nie ograniczających się do spraw wyłącznie rozprzestrzenienia i tylko kultury materialnej. Ramy czasowe zawarte przez autora pomiędzy V w. p. n. erą a V w. n. e. obejmują tysiąclecie, bezsprzecznie ważny okres w historii Bałtów. Początek jego zbiega się z pojawieniem w użytku żelaza, zamyka natomiast połowa I tys. n. ery, która kończy długi etap nieprzerwanego rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego i kulturowego Bałtów. Górna granica oddziela w tym ujęciu zjawiska późniejsze, związane z wypadkami doby wędrówek ludów, przynoszącymi różnorodne zmiany na arenie europejskiej, a w tym także, choć w innej skali także na ziemiach

Bańtów. Przyjęty zakres czasowy pozostawia poza nawiasem artykułu takie kontrowersyjne problemy jak początki etnogenezy Bańtów, w tym także zagadnienie wspólnoty bańto-siewiańskiej — a z drugiej strony czasy poprzedzające bezpośrednio powstanie ustroju feudalnego. Praca dotyczy więc okresu zajmującego na horyzoncie pradziejów wybitnie „centralne” położenie — co do którego dysponujemy już wiarygodnymi danymi pozwalającymi ustalić zasięg przestrzenny Bańtów. Nie oznacza to jednak by autor sztywno się trzymał przyjętych przez siebie ram czasowych i w uzasadnionych potrzebach wypadkach poza nie wybiegał, zwłaszcza gdy referuje dzieła o tematyce ogólniejszej.

Artykuł odznacza się jasnością wykładu i prostotą formułowanych sądów. Wykazuje duże kompetencje merytoryczne autora swobodnie dysponującego literaturą przedmiotu nie tylko przecież w najlepiej mu znanej dziedzinie — archeologii ale także i językoznawstwa. Warto odnotowania jest, że artykuł mający charakter przeglądu najbardziej istotnych prac wypełniających przeszło 100-letni dorobek badań — referuje nie tylko to co wniosły one nowego. Towarzyszy mu lapidarny, stosowny do ram artykułu komentarz autorski, nierzadko o charakterze krytycznym czy polemicznym. Jest to cenne zwłaszcza w odniesieniu do prac świeższej daty, pozbawionych często oceny jeszcze należytej innych badaczy — w przeciwieństwie do opracowań mających dawniejszą metrykę i określone już miejsce w ogólnym dorobku. Jako przykład można tu wymienić trafną ocenę pracy V. V. Siedova „Kurgany Jatv'agov”, wykazując błędne założenia metodyczne, którymi kierował się badacz radziecki próbując uzasadnić przesadnie rozległy obszar osadnictwa jaćwieskiego w I i początku II tys. n. ery. Jeśli dodamy, że zasadniczemu tokowi artykułu towarzyszy obfity wybór literatury cytowanej w przypisach, łącznie z podaniem głosów kry-

tycznych i recenzji — należy uznać, że omawiany artykuł jest nie tylko udaną próbą podsumowania głównego nurtu dotychczasowych badań nad Bańtami ale także swego rodzaju przewodnikiem, ułatwiającym dostęp do podstawowej literatury przedmiotu — w tym nie tylko archeologicznej.

J. Jaskanis

R. Jablonskyté - Rimantiené, *Vėlyvojo mezolito stovykla Lampėdžiūose* (La station mésolithique de Lampėdžiū), „Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Darbai” sėrie A, fasc. 2, Vilnius 1963, pp. 39—53, 10 dessins dans le texte, rėsumė russe.

L'ouvrage de Mme R. Jablonskyté-Rimantienė prėsente les rėsultats des fouilles exėcutėes par l'auteur en 1960 dans la station de Lampėdžiū (banlieue ouest de la ville de Kaunas). La station est situėe sur la terrasse d'inondation du Niėmen, 4 m au-dessus de la nappe du fleuve. L'espace fouillė, qui compte 177 m<sup>2</sup> de superficie, a livrė une partie d'une riche concentration de silex taillėes; à ce que l'on puisse juger d'aprės les plans prėsentės dans l'ouvrage, cette concentration occupe un terrain plus vaste, qui englobe 250—300 m<sup>2</sup> de superficie. Les matėriaux prėhistoriques reposaient dans un niveau illuvial d'un sol podzolique, au-dessous d'une couche d'humus, recouverte, à son tour, d'une mince couche (5—20 cm) de sable gris clair (alluvial?). Cette sėrie ėtait couverte d'une couche d'humus contemporaine, formėe par une vėgėtation herbacėe.

On a mis à dėcouvert, au total, 10 367 silex taillėes. La caractėristique de l'inventaire de la station s'appuie, d'une part, sur une description plutėt schėmatique et, d'autre part, sur des dessins qui ne sont ni des plus riches ni des plus soignėes. La voici.

Les nuclėis, à ce que l'on puisse en juger, appartiennent probablement tous au groupe de nuclėis à lamelles, à un plan de frappe, coniques ou subconiques,



trapus ou longs, à plan d'éclatement circulaire ou presque circulaire. Les nervures sont toujours longues, très régulières, presque parallèles, typiques pour le débitage par pression (nucléi cannelés). Certaines pièces portent des traces d'une préparation primitive.

Les grattoirs (84 pièces) constituent le groupe d'outils le plus nombreux. Les petits grattoirs sur lamelle, trapus ou longs, semblent prédominer dans ce groupe, bien que l'on y rencontre également des grattoirs courts unguiformes. Le groupe de burins est beaucoup moins nombreux. Il se compose de formes suivantes: burins sur troncature retouchée, les uns longs (sur lamelle), les autres trapus ou courts, sur éclat, enfin burins diédres d'angle et burins à seul coup. Les lamelles Borki<sup>1</sup> sont relativement nombreuses et présentent les variantes suivantes: a) variante à retouche continue sur la face ventrale, et à troncature transversale; b) à retouche sur les deux bords, continuée sur la face ventrale, et à troncature transversale, et, enfin, c) à retouche sur les deux bords, continuée sur la face dorsale(?). On a découvert, de plus, de longues lamelles trapézoïdales à double troncature, une pointe de flèche à tranchant transversal et une lamelle tronquée de type Wieliszew(?). On a constaté également la présence d'un nombre considérable de lamelles à troncature microretouchée, de nombreuses raclettes, des grattoirs de

forme particulière<sup>2</sup> et des lamelles partiellement microretouchées.

Les pointes mazoviennes à pédoncule, à retouche partielle sur la face dorsale du pédoncule et à retouche semi-abrupte sur sa face ventrale, sont l'une des formes les plus intéressantes de cette station. L'inventaire de la station englobe de plus des microburins proximaux, de nombreux tranchets longs ou trapus à tranchant naturel et un fragment de hache d'un type dit „Kernbeile” (?).

Outre les matériaux lithiques, on a constaté dans le niveau illuvial la présence de dix foyers et de sept cavités identifiées comme traces de poteaux. L'analyse des morceaux de charbon de bois conservés dans les foyers prouve qu'ils proviennent tous de bois de pin. De plus, les foyers ont livré des écales d'une espèce de noix rapprochée des fruits du noisetier moderne de Caucase, ainsi que celles de *Trapa natans* et, enfin, des noyaux de *Prunus divaricata* et de *Prunus spinosa*.

Selon l'opinion de l'auteur, l'inventaire de la station représente le Mésolithique, et deux raisons permettent de le rapporter à la période Atlantique: la présence des éléments chauds dans sa flore, et la position de la station sur la terrasse d'inondation du Niémen. Ces matériaux appartiennent, selon l'opinion de l'auteur, à une civilisation micro-macrolithique. D'après l'auteur, ce type de civilisation serait apparu dans la partie nord de l'Europe centrale au cours de la seconde moitié du Mésolithique. Les matériaux de la station de Lampédzių trouvent leurs analogies les plus proches, selon l'opinion de Mme R. Jablonskyté-Rimantienė, dans ceux du bassin du Sož et du bassin de la Desna.

L'ouvrage présenté en abrégé ci-dessus est sans conteste l'une des pu-

<sup>1</sup> Lamelles présentant de fines retouches marginales continues, semi-abruptes, soit sur l'un des bords de la face dorsale ou ventrale, soit sur les deux bords de la face dorsale ou ventrale, presque jamais disposées de façon alterne. Certaines des lamelles Borki ont une extrémité (très rarement les deux) tronquée par une troncature retouchée transversale (lamelles Borki à troncature). Voir la dénomination de ces pièces dans: R. Schild, „Świdzkie” stanowiska znad górnej Wolgi i środkowej Oki a cykl mazowszański. Les stations „svidériennes” de la haute Volga et de la moyenne Oka et le cycle mazovien), „Archeologia Polski”, vol. 9 1964, fasc. 1. p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Une forme particulière de grattoir in-forme, qui ne trouve pas d'équivalent typologique dans la terminologie et la systématique françaises.

blications les plus intéressantes de ce genre, parues dernièrement en Lituanie. L'intérêt qu'il suscite consiste en ce qu'il apporte des matériaux nouveaux, recueillis au moyen de fouilles archéologiques et accusant, à ce qu'il semble, le caractère d'une industrie pure. On a donc la possibilité de les confronter avec les matériaux mésolithiques provenant des pays avoisinants. De plus, cet ouvrage permet de comprendre mieux certains problèmes rattachés à la genèse des industries mésolithiques de la Lituanie, de la Biélorussie et de la partie nord-est de la Russie européenne.

On pourrait, évidemment, formuler certaines réserves, surtout en ce qui concerne la manière de présenter les matériaux. Les dessins, qui ne sont pas des plus corrects, sont trop schématisés, et il est même quelquefois difficile de comprendre ce qu'ils représentent. La typologie est très schématique et manque de raffinement. De plus, l'ouvrage ne renferme pas de table présentant les quantités des pièces appartenant à des types particuliers et à leurs variantes, ce de quoi une monographie moderne d'une station archéologique ne peut se passer. Tous ces défauts ne diminuent pas cependant la joie du lecteur qui peut — enfin! — mettre à profit les matériaux publiés dans cet ouvrage — les seuls de ce genre qui semblent correctement datés, bien que la précision de leur chronologie laisse à désirer.

Si l'on admet que la formation de la terrasse d'inondation du Niémen se rattache, comme il y a lieu de le supposer, à la troisième transgression de la mer à Littorines, à cote la plus élevée, et au soulèvement du continent qui l'a suivie, il en résulte en toute certitude que la station de Lampédzių, qui est située sur la terrasse d'inondation du Niémen, ne peut être antérieure à la période Atlantique. Tous ces événements semblent se rattacher aux phases finales de l'Atlantique, ou au début du Subboré-

al<sup>3</sup>. La présence des éléments chauds dans la flore de la station (noix rapprochées de celles du Caucase) témoigne plutôt en faveur de l'Atlantique. Aussi semble-t-il le plus correct de situer les matériaux archéologiques de Lampédzių dans la partie finale de l'Atlantique, c'est-à-dire de les dater du déclin du IV<sup>e</sup> millénaire avant n.è.

L'importance du gisement mésolithique de Lampédzių est essentielle. Elle est due à la datation relativement correcte des matériaux qu'il a livrés et à leur caractère homogène. On peut apprécier le mieux la valeur de ce gisement, si on le compare avec d'autres stations mésolithiques de Lituanie et de Biélorussie. Comme on sait, ces territoires ont fourni tout un nombre de matériaux mésolithiques qui proviennent, dans la majorité des cas, de récoltes de surface. Les rares stations explorées au moyen de fouilles archéologiques n'ont jusqu'à présent livré que des matériaux incontestablement mélangés, ou relativement peu nombreux.

On constate dans les matériaux lithiques de la station de Lampédzių au moins trois composants typologiques. Le premier et le composant épimazovien, dont l'élément le plus caractéristique sont les pointes épimazoviennes à pédoncule, avec une retouche semi-abrupte sur la face ventrale de celui-ci. Les dimensions de ces pointes, ainsi que le rapport de la longueur de leur pédoncule à longueur totale de la pièce, sont conformes à celles des pointes classiques à pédoncule du cycle mazovien du Paléolithique final. Évidemment, de même que les pointes épimazoviennes à pédoncule ou en feuille de saule, celles de la station de Lampédzių sont faites sur

\* V. K. Gudelis, Očerki po geologii i paleogeografii četvertičnogo perioda (Antropogena) Litvy (Étude sur la géologie et la paléogéographie du Quaternaire (l'Anthropozoïque) en Lituanie), „Prace Instytutu Geologicznego”, vol. 34, Czwartorzęd Europy środkowej i wschodniej, Iere partie, Varsovie 1961, pp. 483—485, fig. 34.

lamelles enlevées de nucléi à un plan de frappe.

Le deuxième composant, nettement perceptible, englobe tout un nombre d'éléments qui coexistent dans de nombreuses différentes industries du Mésolithique et du Néolithique précéramique de la partie nord-est de la Russie européenne et de la Sibérie. On pourrait le nommer le composant russo-sibérien. Il englobe des lamelles Borki et leurs variantes à troncature transversale, ainsi que de longs nucléi coniques à lames, à un plan de frappe et à plan d'éclatement circulaire ou presque circulaire (nucléi cannelés).

Le troisième composant présente tout un nombre d'éléments que l'on pourrait rattacher au cycle vistulien du Mésolithique polonais<sup>4</sup>. Ce composant est représenté par un seul spécimen de pointe Wieliszew type 1 (la présence de cette forme dans la station de Lampédzių n'est pas d'ailleurs absolument certaine), par des raclettes, des grattoirs de type particulier<sup>5</sup>, enfin par un trapèze et des microburins.

Outre ces trois composants, la station a livré de nombreux éléments typologiques dont l'appartenance à l'un de ces composants n'est pas encore absolument certaine, bien qu'elle ne soit pas impossible à établir. Cette incertitude se rapporte surtout au riche groupe de grattoirs; il serait plutôt impossible de les classer dans tel ou autre des trois composants, sans connaître toute une série de stations mésolithiques, à chronologie différente, dispersées dans le territoire de la Lituanie. La connaissance d'un grand nombre de ces stations, où les éléments typologiques nouveaux

seraient relativement faciles à percevoir et à distinguer, permettrait d'établir l'ordre chronologique dans lequel sont apparus les trois composants en question et, de ce fait, d'établir exactement leur composition typologique. Pour le moment, l'apparition des tranchets, et d'autant plus des „Kernbeile”, ne peut être rattachée en toute certitude à aucun des trois composants<sup>5</sup>.

En passant en revue les publications récentes qui traitent des stations mésolithiques lituanienes et biélorusses, on a la possibilité de constater la présence de ces trois composants dans les inventaires lithiques de certaines stations. Malheureusement, ces inventaires proviennent, en grande partie, de récoltes de surface. Parmi les stations qui contiennent tous les trois composants, il y a lieu de citer, entre autres, la station de Čerešla VI sur le Niémen<sup>6</sup> et peut-être celle de Žemuju-Kaniūkų (nievau inférieur), située elle aussi sur le Niémen<sup>7</sup>. Si l'on ajoute foi à la méthode de datation absolue au moyen de l'analyse de la minéralisation des charbons de bois, la deuxième de ces stations serait très rapprochée chronologiquement des matériaux mésolithiques de la station de Lampédzių, car l'âge de la couche inférieure de Žemuju-Kaniūkų, comme nous en infor-

<sup>5</sup> Jusqu'au moment actuel, la station de Czerwony Borek II en Podlasie est la seule qui ait livré un spécimen de tranchet. Z. Szmit, „Badania osadnictwa epoki kamiennej na Podlasiu” („Recherches des colonisations de l'époque de pierre en Podlasie”), „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, vol. 10 1923, pl. IV, 49.

<sup>6</sup> N. N. Guzina, „Novyye dannyye o kamennom vekiye siewiero-zapadnoj Bielorusсии” („Nouvelles données sur l'âge de la pierre dans le nord-ouest de la Biélorussie”), „Materialy i Issledovaniya po Archeologii SSSR”, vol. 131 1965, pp. 156—161.

<sup>7</sup> R. R. Jamion skyté-Rimantiené, „Žemuju-Kaniūkų IV—I tūkstantmečių p.r.m.e. stovyklos” (Zemuju-Kaniūkų, station datant du IV<sup>e</sup>—I<sup>er</sup> millénaire avant notre ère”), „Lietuvos TSR Meksų Akademijos Darbai”, série A 1963, fasc. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Voir les définitions des éléments typologiques du cycle vistulien dans: H. Więkowska, M. Marczak, „Próba podziału kulturowego mezolitu Mazowsza” („Une tentative de division culturelle du Mésolithique de la Mazovie”), „II Konferencja poświęcona problematyce prehistorii plejstocenu i wczesnego holocenu Polski, Warszawa 3—5.V.1965”, pp. 22—32 (tirage polycopié).

me l'auteur, se situe entre 3300 et 3100 avant notre ère<sup>8</sup>.

En s'appuyant sur les publications, il serait incontestablement très difficile d'établir, pour chaque station, les indices statistiques de chacun de ces composants et de définir les rapports numériques mutuels entre les composants séparés. Cet état de choses découle de l'absence d'un système détaillé de classification typologique dans les publications, ainsi que de la défektivité des dessins. Il y a lieu de supposer que les rapports numériques entre les éléments typologiques qui coexistent dans le même composant ne sont pas nécessairement les mêmes dans toutes ces stations.

Les matériaux lithiques lituaniens et biélorusses que l'on peut identifier comme mésolithiques ne disposent pas toujours d'un composant épimazovien; c'est là une observation qui mérite l'attention. La station de Niesiloviči sur le Niémen<sup>9</sup>, par exemple, contient, à ce qu'il semble, un composant vistulien très nombreux, avec des pointes Wieliszew de type 1 et 2. Les éléments épimazoviens y sont absents; il est possible que les formes russo-sibériennes y manquent aussi (?).

D'autre part, certaines stations (Krumplevo sur la Dvina<sup>10</sup>) présentent

deux composants nettement perceptibles, l'un épimazovien, l'autre russo-sibérien, mais n'ont pas, en revanche, de composant vistulien. La station de Krumplevo a livré, de plus, tout un nombre d'éléments typologiques qui ne peuvent être rattachés à aucun des trois composants.

La présence ou l'absence de tel ou autre composant dans l'inventaire des stations peut être facilement expliquée par des différences chronologiques et culturelles. La présence des stations représentant le cycle vistulien dans la partie Est de la Pologne (Sośnia sur la Biebrza<sup>11</sup>) permet de présumer que des stations de ce type, relativement homogènes, existent tout au moins en territoire de la Biélorussie (Niesiloviči I ?<sup>12</sup>). La proximité relative du territoire qui était le domaine géographique du cycle vistulien explique facilement, de son côté, la présence des éléments vistuliens dans les stations lituaniennes et biélorusses du Mésolithique final.

La présence du composant épimazovien dans les stations du Mésolithique final de la Lituanie et de la Biélorussie permet de mieux comprendre l'apparition des pointes à pédoncule ou en feuille de saule dans les inventaires — probablement mésolithiques — des stations situées sur la haute Volga et sur l'Oka moyenne (Skniatino, Sobolevo, Ielin Bor, Borki, etc.). Il est vrai, que les pointes à

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, pp. 75 et 89.

<sup>9</sup> N. N. Gurina, op. cit., pp. 163—166.

<sup>10</sup> N. N. Gurina, „Novyie mezoliticheskie pamiatniki lesnoj polosy Evropejskoj časti SSSR” („Nouveaux matériaux mésolithiques de la zone des forêts de la partie européenne de l'U.R.S.S.”), „Sovetskaja Archeologia”, fasc. 2 1950, pp. 125—136; Gurina: „Novyie dannye...”, pp. 148—149. Schild, op. cit., p. 20—21. Mme N. N. Gurina a identifié, dans le deuxième de ses ouvrages, la station de Krumplevo comme paléolithique et synchrones à une industrie, à laquelle M. L. Sawicki donne le nom de Svidérien II. Il faut cependant constater tout net, qu'aucune des formes de cette station ne témoigne en faveur d'une telle datation, et que, bien au contraire, toutes les formes qui y existent indiquent que Krumplevo date tout au moins du Mésolithique final. De plus, cette

chronologie est confirmée par la présence d'une pointe sibérienne à cran de type Us'-Kiachia ou Pad'-Castyle. M. L. Cholobystin a tenté de prouver dernièrement l'appartenance d'une tombe de Pad'-Castyle à un groupe séparé de stations du Néolithique précéramique du Baïkal, dit phase d'Ulan-Hada, qu'il a distingué. Voir: L. N. Cholobystin, „Drevnejšie pamiatniki Baïkala” („Les plus anciennes antiquités du Baïkal”), „Materiaily i Issledovanija po Archeologii SSSR”, vol. 131 1955, pp. 277—279.

<sup>11</sup> Collections Z. Gloger, Musée Archéologique de Cracovie.

<sup>12</sup> Il y a lieu de remarquer, que l'inventaire de cette station présente une addition, petite mais nettement perceptible, de matériaux datant du Néolithique ou du Bronze ancien.

pédoncule de ces stations (à l'exception de certaines pointes à pédoncule de Skniatino) diffèrent typologiquement des pointes épimazoviennes à pédoncule ou en feuille de saule des stations de Lampėzių, de Žemujū-Kaniūkų ou de Čerešla VI. En premier lieu, elles sont sensiblement plus longues, et leur pédoncule remarquablement court. De plus, on y observe d'autres formes de pointes à pédoncule ou en feuille de saule, qui sont absentes dans les stations lituaniennes et biélorusses. Il n'y a qu'une partie des pointes à pédoncule de Skniatino qui soient rapprochées des pointes épimazoviennes à pédoncule ou en feuille de saule de la Biélorussie et de la Lituanie. Il y a lieu de souligner cependant, que certaines stations biélorusses ont livré des pointes épimazoviennes isolées, aussi longues que celles de Borki (Krumplevo<sup>13</sup>), pourvues d'un pédoncule très petit et court.

Le composant épimazovien est, sans nul doute, l'un des éléments essentiels de nombreuses stations mésolithiques de la Lituanie et de la Biélorussie. Comme on sait, ce composant est représenté, en premier lieu, par des pointes épimazoviennes à pédoncule et, beaucoup plus rarement, en feuille de saule; dans les deux cas, ces pointes diffèrent nettement des pointes classiques du cycle mazovien, en premier lieu par les demi-produits dont elles sont faites (lamelles enlevées en majorité de nucléi cannelés), et, d'autre part, par la retouche semi-abrupte sur la face ventrale du pédoncule dont la face dorsale est souvent dépourvue de retouche<sup>14</sup>. Il est très probable, qu'il y ait connexité entre le nombre et la diversité des éléments du composant épimazovien d'une part, et, de l'autre, l'âge de la station et sa position géographique.

<sup>13</sup> R. Schild, op. cit., pl. III, fig. 1.

<sup>14</sup> On observe parfois, très rarement, la même façon de retoucher le pédoncule dans les matériaux appartenant au cycle mazovien du Paléolithique final.

Le deuxième composant, présent dans au moins une partie des inventaires du Mésolithique final lituanien et biélorusse, est — selon toute probabilité — relié génétiquement au territoire de la Sibérie. Il se compose de nucléi à lamelles, à un plan de frappe, coniques ou subconiques, et de lamelles Borki représentées par de nombreuses variantes; il se caractérise, de plus, par la présence de nombreux burins d'angle sur cassure, faits de lamelles, ainsi que de pointes sibériennes à cran de type Pad'-Častyia. Tous ces traits caractéristiques se concentrent et s'accroissent le plus nettement dans les inventaires des stations mésolithiques et de celles du Néolithique précéramique, situées en territoire de la Sibérie (Ulan-Hada — niveau inférieur; Ust'-Kiachta; Andrievskoië ●ziéro I) et dans les terrains transouraliens (Iangielka, etc.). Ces stations ne représentent pas toutes la même industrie; malgré les éléments communs qui les rapprochent, elles diffèrent par de nombreuses dissimilitudes typologiques qui les séparent. Le composant en question est très répandu dans les inventaires des stations de la haute Volga et de l'Oka moyenne (Borki, Ielin, Bor, etc.) bien que Skniatino n'ait livré ses éléments qu'en nombre relativement bas. Dans l'ouest du territoire de l'U.R.S.S., le nombre d'éléments du composant russo-sibérien semble diminuer. Dans les stations de la Lituanie et de la Biélorussie, il est évidemment beaucoup moins nombreux. De plus, il n'est pas impossible que la présence de ce composant soit limitée aux stations du Mésolithique final.

Le troisième composant est génétiquement et typologiquement rattaché au cycle vistulien du Mésolithique polonais. Il semble être limité exclusivement à une partie des stations biélorusses et lituaniennes. Sa composition n'est pas toujours la même. D'habitude, il est représenté par des pointes Wieliszew type 1 et 2, des triangles scalènes, des tra-

pèzes, des raclettes et des grattoirs de type particulier ? Si un de ces éléments les plus caractéristiques, tel par exemple que les pointes Wieleiszew, est absent dans quelque station, il est difficile de décider si toutes les autres formes — trapèzes, raclettes, etc. — appartiennent en toute certitude au composant vistulien. Si l'on s'appuie sur la chronologie du cycle vistulien en Pologne, qui n'est d'ailleurs pas encore établie avec la précision requise, il faut s'attendre à ce que la présence du cycle vistulien soit limitée aux stations plus récentes du Mésolithique lituanien et biélorusse.

Pour finir ces remarques au sujet du très intéressant ouvrage de Mme R. Jablonskyté-Rimantiené, il faut souligner que, de l'étape actuelle des recherches, il y a encore un long chemin à faire pour établir une chronologie exacte et une division culturelle correcte du Mésolithique de la Lituanie et de la Biélorussie. On ne pourra atteindre ce but qu'à condition d'établir, au préalable, un système de classification typologique détaillée. Les résultats des recherches exécutées jusqu'à présent démontrent des liaisons génétiques étroites entre le cycle mazovien du Paléolithique final et les stations — et tout au moins une partie des stations — mésolithiques biélorusses et lituanienues. De plus, les stations du Mésolithique final biélorusse et lituanien accusent des influences typologiques du cycle vistulien et des industries de la Sibérie ou du Nord russe européen.

Ajoutons encore que les résultats des prospections archéologiques exécutées dernièrement dans la région de Suwałki en Pologne<sup>15</sup> permettent de présumer que la partie nord-est du terri-

toire polonais recèle des stations inéolithiques encore peu étudiées, à composant épimazovien.

Romuald Schild

R. Kiersnowski, *Uwagi o znaleziskach monet wczesnośredniowiecznych z ziem pruskich* (Remarks on the Finds of early-mediaeval Coins, deriving from Old-Prussian territories), „Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, vol. IV, Warszawa 1960, pp. 1—14.

The monetary relics from the Old-Prussian territories, deriving from the early-mediaeval period, have been already described in the voluminous literature. It has been published, however, as a whole, as early as before World War I, being in majority worked out in the 19th century. These works are generally of a written-source character, a few conclusions advanced by their authors being nowadays in majority out-of date. That is why the article by R. Kiersnowski becomes of an unusual importance as a first attempt of the reproduction of monetary relations in the above-mentioned territory, in the period of early Middle-Ages. The attention should be drawn to the fact that the author was faced with a very difficult task resulting from the destruction of almost all collections in which the relics from this region had been preserved, in the course of the World War II. Thus the author had no other choice than to base his studies on the heretofore published literature, which though containing fairly precise descriptions of the coins, is, however, unable to replace the “living” material.

The author has restricted the area of his studies to the territory of the exclusively Prussian settlements; because of the significant differences which existed in the monetary relations in the Slav and Prussian territories, the inclusion to the studies of the territories

<sup>15</sup> S. Wierzbicka, „Sprawozdanie z badań powierzchniowych stanowisk epoki kamienia na Suwalszczyźnie” („Compte rendu des prospections archéologiques exécutées dans les stations de l'âge de la pierre de la région de Suwałki”), „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 6 (1963), pp. 147—168.

which were already inhabited by a certain percentage of Slav population would result in the fairly vague picture of the monetary relations in the Prussian territories, since — as it has been pointed out by the author — the bordering lands had been, as far as monetary relations were concerned — connected rather with the Polish territory.

The author draws our attention to the important difference of the Prussian territory from the aspect of a specific character of the finds, which has been reflected by the presence in this territory, first of all of Arabian coins, then of a minimal quantity of both Byzantine and West-European ones, which have been occurring more often in other territories and, finally, by a minimum number of monetary finds in the Prussian territories, from which only 27 finds are known to us, and include only 12 treasures. The total number of the coins discovered in them and assigned is that of 620, while figures referring to the neighbouring territories have been often its manifold.

The author enclosed in his works numerous, synoptical computations, which explicitly illustrate the amassed material as well as the deliberations of the author. These indexes represent the kinds of coins, stratigraphy of treasures as well as that of the place of coinage, being prepared on the basis of particular finds. The indexes demonstrating chronological classification of the worked out treasures constitute a certain novelty, unknown, so far. The author applied here a mechanical division, taking the 10-years period as the unit. This fact produced certain difficulties for the author, particularly in the case of coins dated within the frames of more widely conceived rules. The author placed these coins hypothetically in the last ten-year period of the rule of a given dynasty. Such a manipulation does not seem, however, to be proper, because it introduces a rejuvenation of the dating of

the coins, which did not need to derive from the last ten-year period of the rule of a given sovereign. The uniform distribution of coins on particular ten-year periods seems to be more right. The all time-switching of this type are slight and unable to substantially influence of the general picture of monetary relations as well as that of their development in this region.

The author states, that all finds deriving from the Prussian territories can be assigned to the years 811—828. Then, he enumerates all finds which have been discovered in the basin of the Baltic sea, and which have been also dated to this period, coming finally to the conclusion that Prussian territories are in a exceptional situation, being the only area where from derives a fairly large number of finds of Arabian coins, dated to the first half of the 9th century. The author suggests that the fact of an influx of Arabian diherms into the Prussian territories could be explained by the activity of Truso, which constituted a great trade emporium of the period, the evidence of which being given by the assembling of the finds in the territory adjacent to the western part of the basin of the Vistula-mouth. It would be difficult, however, to explain in such circumstances the cause of such a short period of the penetration of Arabian coins to these territories, as well as the role played by them in the activity of the trade emporium in Truso. It could resulted from the unfavourable ending of the first attempt of the penetration of the Arabian trade into these areas. The trading company in Truso could play an important role as far as the choice of merchant tracks was concerned, it should be born in mind, however, that the role of this trading company was first of all that of a transit, the evidence to which is given by lack of Arabian coins dating from the second half of the 9th century in the Prussian

territories. The first wave of the influx of Arabian dirhems was immediately absorbed by this territory. This fact probably resulted from the situation that the markets in the Slav and Scandinavian countries were not yet prepared at the moment for trade exchange of the advanced stage, and particularly by lack of conditions, necessary for the absorption of such a big quantity of species, as it is the case in the following periods. This fact most probably resulted in the phenomenon of lack of Arabian coins in further trade with the West. The author is right to stress, that the short period of the influx of these coins to the territory under consideration as well as a great percentage of primary treasures constitute a proof of a poorly developed local money-market which on the other hand, took a quiet different course than that in the central European countries.

Though the author makes a reservation that his remarks "constitute rather a questionnaire than an attempt of the explanation of the observed situation", it should be stated, however, that he succeeded in dissolving a number of problems connected with the occurrence of Arabian coins in the Prussian territories in the first half of the 9th century. First of all, however, the author has designed the further course of studies of the history of trade as well as of monetary turn-over in the above-considered territories.

Jerzy Piniński

E. M. Zagorulskij, *Drewnij Minsk*, (The Old Minsk), Minsk, 1963, 118 pp., and non-numbered illustrations in the text.

A small booklet by E. M. Zagorulskij on Minsk in the period from the 11th till the 13th centuries, constitutes a typical, popular scientific elaboration. Written in an easy-to-be-understood way, lavishly illustrated and aesthetic-

ally published on a chalk-paper, the booklet attracts with its cover and invites to be read. The excavations carried on in the post-war period on the Minsk castle-hill, called "Zamczysko" as well as the "letopises" plans of the city, names of its streets and the like constitute the essential source of data for the author who describes the history of the city of Minsk. Having the above mentioned data to his disposal, the author examines them in the following way: he first acquaints the reader with the workshop of his scientific work; this fact should be stressed as the author's great merit, because the reader does not receive ready formulations to be accepted by him, but follows the author in his investigations.

The booklet by E. M. Zagorulskij is divided into five chapters in which the author successively deals with the following problems: mentions referring to Minsk of the 11th — the 13th centuries, the primary localization of the city of Minsk, its inward appearance, the life of its inhabitants and their management, finally, with the motives for which Minsk was born that time. The history of the city of Minsk, depicted in the first chapter is based exclusively on historical materials, beginning with the first mention about the city of 1067, up till the last years of the 13th century. In the second, smaller chapter, — on the basis of historical data, the topography of the city, names of its streets and the like — the author examines the localization of the oldest core of the city, coming to the conclusion that the elevation called "Zamczysko" (castle) constitutes the oldest part of the fortified city — its "detinec" (courtyard). The two successive chapters deal exclusively with the result of the excavation work carried on at the "Zamczysko"-site. The author analyses in these most extensive chapters the particular constructions found in the excavated part: the residential and management buildings, work-



shops and wooden-paved streets. The author deals extensively with the remains of the never-finished temple of the Minsk courtyard, which had been discovered in the 11th-century layer; a much more extensive chapter was destined by the author for the characterization of the town management and the life of the town population. Some remarks occur, however with regard to these two chapters. The buildings built upon the fortified town as well as both life and occupations of the inhabitants of the town of Minsk are described by the author in the period from the 11th till the 13th centuries, taken as a whole. No attempts are made by him to divide the life of the town into some chronological periods and to compare them. A certain gap is noticed in this respect even as far as the illustrations of the book are concerned. For instance, E. M. Zagorulskij enclosed only one, small plan of the town buildings, constructed in the period the 12th — the 13th centuries. On this plan we can see the streets situated within a broad rampart enclosure — the main one as well as the side streets — and the buildings constructed along them. But from the book context it appears that in this part of the town there had been a temple in the 11th century, on the area of which a cemetery was later set up, being later — in the 13th century — covered (both the temple and the cemetery) with a wooden-paved street. Thus the question occurs to the reader what was the appearance of this part of the town in the 11th century, what was the then localization of the streets and of buildings with regard to the temple. On the above mentioned plan we can also see a broad rampart dating from the 12th—13th centuries. The author, however, mentions that its primary appearance was different. He, too, describes the gate of the fortified town, containing two immense bulwarks, giving also the illustration of its reconstruction. All these elements are not

pointed out on the small plan. The illustrations showing the successive changes occurring in the two-century period in the town-constructions as well as in its fortifications would be most desirable. There is also lack of a chronological division as far as the management and the life of the inhabitants of the town is concerned. Only while analysing glass bracelets the author mentions that their shape as well as colours depended upon a given period. Questions also occur with regard to the problem, whether all sorts of the artisan craft, which are described by the author existed during the whole analysed period, or whether some differences can be noticed in this respect. There are some differences with regard to the analysis of the crafts existing in Minsk which are worked out by E. M. Zagorulskij and those analysed by B. R. Tarasenko<sup>1</sup>. Namely E. M. Zagorulskij writes with regard to pottery-making, that no traces of potters' work were found in the courtyard; however, B. R. Tarasenko mentions that the remains of a pottery-workshop were discovered<sup>2</sup> together with fragments, of a disk serving to pottery-making<sup>3</sup>, remains of clay, constituting the raw material for pottery-making<sup>4</sup> and the like. Though B. R. Tarasenko remarks that potters could live out of the fortified town, in the neighbouring settlement, nevertheless, they worked in the fortified part of the Minsk "Zamczysko". E. M. Zagorulskij gives an information with regard to the articles made of horn and bone that two-side combs were made of bone in Minsk, while, generally they were made of horn, and the typical horn-waste visible on the picture derive, among the others, from the preparatory process of comb-making. The last chapt-

<sup>1</sup> B. R. Tarasenko, *Drewnij Minsk*, „Materiały po archieologii BSSR. Vol. I. Minsk, 1957, pp. 182—257.

<sup>2</sup> descr. cit. pp. 215—216.

<sup>3</sup> Descr. cit. p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> descr. cit. p. 242.

er constitutes an analysis of the motives for which the town of Minsk was set up, and on the basis of numerous specimens of weapons, which have been found in the lower layers of the Minsk "Zamczysko", the author comes to the conclusion, that the town of Minsk was military in its character, and had been built up at the southern part to defend the Połock Duchy. On the basis of dendro-chronology as well as of two, historically confirmed fires in the 11th century, the date of the setting up of the fortified Minsk is ascribed to 1063, and the period of the construction of the first Minsk fortifications is evaluated as that of four years.

This is a rough outline of the content of the small booklet by E. M. Zagorulskij. Apart from some not important inexactitudes and reticences, the work accomplished by E. M. Zagorulskij should be considered to be a positive one. It fulfils its task, namely the popularization of science. The attractive publication of the book should be separately stressed.

Krystyna Musianowicz

J. Antoniewicz, *The Sudovians*, Białystok, 1962, Białystok Scientific Society, pp. 3—20+XXIV tables with illustrations.

A shortage of publications in foreign languages constitutes a considerable handicap for the popularization of the achievements of the Polish historiography. For this reason we should welcome the work by J. Antoniewicz, designed not only for the specialists but also for wider circles of foreign readers. The author presents in an easy-to-understood and popular way the results of the many-years-lasting explorations of the Sudovian culture of the first millennium of our era. After generally acquainting the reader with the universal aspect of the Sudovian problems, the

author roughly characterizes the settlements dating from the 3rd- the 7th centuries, and the attempt of the reproduction of tribal-type settlements of the period with the help of the cartographical method. (pp. 3—7).

The results of the above mentioned explorations constitute a comparatory material of great value with regard to the problems of the tribal-type settlements in the Polish territories, which, — as far as the above mentioned period is concerned — generally have not been subjected to such precise archaeological elaborations.

The author rightfully draws the reader's attention to the crucial phase in both economic and social relations, which apparently took place at the close of the 4th and the turn of the 5th centuries. The occurring of the richly furnished "ducal" graves, burials with horses as well as the remains of the earthwork at Osinki together with its grain-stores, give evidence of the developing process of class-division of the population. The data on the development of agriculture and rearing are, too, of interest. It seems to be true, that horse-rearing was more developed among the Baltic peoples than among Slavs. The information by Adam of Bremen from the 11th century should be mentioned in this respect, namely that Couronian country was famous for its horse-rearing. That was probably why the invasions by the small Prussian and Sudovian groups of their strongest neighbours could be so successful owing to the possessed by them cavalry. (pp. 7—12).

The author analyses, in turn, the particular branches of the artisan-manufacture. According to him, the level of metal objects made by Sudovians was higher if compared with those made by their other Slavic neighbours. It is not excluded that this phenomenon was connected with the possibility of ex-

changing non-ferrous metals for precious amber. (pp. 12—17).

At the end of his work the author gives the list of the literature references on the subject, which are assembled in a fairly well transparent manner, according to the scientific branches. Numerous illustrations in the text as well as 24 tables, some of them being coloured, and presenting the most important relics constitute an additional value of the work under consideration. The graphical form of the publication should be specially stressed. Owing to the clearly presented and interesting content as well as to the attractive form of its publication, the work by J. Antoniewicz will with no doubt constitute an important contribution to the popularization of the achievements of the Polish science abroad.

Kazimierz Ślaski

J. Antoniewicz, *Rudlica łopatkowa z okresu rzymskiego z północnej Polski* (The tanged plough share of the Roman Period in North Poland) „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” vol. X, 1962, nos. 3—4, pp. 595—599; By the same author: *Senoves baltų žemdirbystės technikos Klausimu* (in): „Is lietuvių kultūros istorijos”, vol. IV, Vilnius 1964, pp. 164—170.

The fact that an article by J. Antoniewicz, dealing with the discovery of the tanged plough-share as well as of other iron implements in a grave of a Sudovian agriculturist at Szwałcaria, in the district of Suwałki have been published in the vol. IV of the „Is Lietuvių Kultūros Istorijos” can be an evidence of the vital interest with which the results of the Polish scientific explorations are being observed in the Lithuanian territory. The Lithuanian translation of this article was generally based on the Polish text, published in the

„Kwartalnik HKM”, in nos. 3—4, 1962. (*The tanged plough-share of the Roman period in North Poland*). The both, above mentioned articles deal with similar problems, thus they will be analysed together.

During the archaeological explorations carried on within the frames of work of the so-called Sudovian Expedition Complex, J. Antoniewicz discovered iron objects in a Sudovian grave, one part of which consisted of agricultural implements and their parts. They were the following: knives, a sickle with traces of a serrated blade, a tanged plough-share (primitive) as well as, probably, iron-works of a hoe.

The author supposes that the find of a tanged plough-share in a Sudovian grave was connected with the ancient custom of furnishing the graves with agricultural implements or with their parts, and of replacing them, sometimes, with models which constituted the votive offerings.

The Sudovian grave under consideration might be furnished with a whole hoe, since iron parts which could constitute the iron-works of the wooden parts of a hoe have been discovered in this grave besides the tanged plough-share.

Because of the existence of various types of runner-hoes, the definition “with a hoe-beam fixed aslant” should be added to the word “hoe” to make the typology of the hoe under consideration more exact. From the form of the tanged plough-share discovered in the above mentioned grave, one can deduce that such a type of the hoe might occur in this case. The tanged plough-share found in North Poland and assigned to the 2nd—3rd centuries of our era, i. e. to the late Roman period, constitutes a unique find of this type. Seven other plough-shares were found in the Polish territory, being assigned to the same period, all of them, however, belonged to a dif-

ferent type, namely to the type of socketed plough-share. Thus the problem of the origin of the tanged plough-share discovered in the territory which, in Ancient times, constituted the tribal Sudovian area, is waiting for solution. Because of the fact that this type of plough-share was known in this same time both in the territory of North-Eastern Europe and in the Balkans, the author is inclined to think that it appeared independently, owing to the law of convergency. Such a suggestion is more probable and substantiated than the opinion that this type of the plough-share was adopted by the peoples inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula from the North, through the mediation of the Roman-provincial culture. The attention should be drawn, however, to lack of any relations between both the plough-share and the reconstructed hoe, deriving from Szwejcaria, the district of Suwałki, and the later forms of implements, occurring in the territory under consideration. Such relations existed, however, in other areas, for instance, in the territories of North-Eastern Europe and, first of all, in the Balkans, where the occurrence of the tanged plough-share was confirmed by the ethnographical records of the period. On the base of the historical, ethnographical and, partially, also archaeological materials it is assumed that chisel-hoes with socketed plough-share as well as ploughs with socket-shaped iron-worsk occurred in the territory of North Poland as well as in North-Eastern Europe. In connection with the above-made remarks, two other eventualities should, perhaps, be taken into consideration for the solution of the problem of the origin of the discussed plough-share. The tanged plough-share might had been transported into the territory of the region of Suwałki from other areas of North-Western Europe or, could also constitute a form commonly known till a cer-

tain period of time given, in turn, place to socketed plough-shares, which appeared together with chisel-hoes or primitive ploughs; their occurrence in early Middle Ages as well as in later periods is attested in the records. Mention should be also made of the comparison made by the author between the tanged plough-share from the region of Suwałki and a similar to it in shape implement occurring in the Polesia region and serving for making holes in wooden hoops of the wheels. The author states that this similarity is of a formal character. In the Russian epitome enclosed with the Lithuanian version of the article this implement, called in Polish "łopateń", has been misinterpreted with a plough. It reads as follows: "The discovered plough-share .... is similar to the plough typical for the region of Polesia, and is — as it was pointed out by ethnographer K. Moszyński, — called by the local people "łopatyn".

The closing part of the article contains remarks with regard to the systems and technics of soil cultivation. According to the author the production of agricultural products in this territory was most probably based on the tillage of post-silvan areas; the discussed hoe with a tanged plough-share and the above mentioned sickle with a serrated blade, which were discovered together with the tanged plough-share in a Sudovian grave were probably helpful in this respect.

M. Pokropek

A. K. Anteins, *Drevneje oruž'je iz damasskoj stali v Litvie* (Ancient Weapon showing damascened Steel in Lithuania), „Materiały VI Konferencji po Historii Nauki w Pribałtyce”, Vilnius 1965, str. 78—80.

Artykuł jest skrótem referatu zgłoszonego na kolejną konferencję poświęconą historii nauki w republikach nadbałtyckich ZSRR. Autor — znany ba-

dacz dawnej produkcji kowalskiej na Łotwie, publikuje tym razem wyniki swych badań i poszukiwań w zakresie wyrobów ze stali wzorzystej na Litwie. Przegląd materiałów z różnych kolekcji litewskich pozwolił mu wyróżnić 14 gro-tów oszczepów pochodzących z okresu XI—XIII w. n.e. oraz 4 mieczy z IX—XI w. wykonanych przy użyciu stali. Zna-leziska te pochodzą z różnych stano-wisk — Laičiai, Nausodis, Plunge, Apu-ole, Žemaičiu-Kalvaria, Godinga, Šveks-ņa, Papile, Linksmunčiai i Ukmergė.

Spośród gro-tów stwierdzono 5 rodzai. różniących się wzorami rozpoznanymi rentgenograficznie na liścieniu. Najczęst-szymi (po 5 egz.) były to bądź wąskie smugi w postaci „wijących się” pasm umieszczone na obu stronach osi po-dłużnej. Pozostałe egzemplarze repre-zentowały różne kombinacje smug — wąskich podwójnych, wąskich pojedyn-nych współwystępujących z symetrycz-nie umieszczonymi „wijącymi” się lub o brzegach ząbkowanych.

Badań jakości metali, z których wy-kuto te przedmioty, zapewne nie prze-prowadzono skoro autor odwołuje się do przykładów łotewskich poddanych pró-bom metalograficznymi. Ujawniły one, że liścienie gro-tów wykuvano ze stali wy-sokowęglowej o zawartości C 0,8—0,9%. Natomiast wzorzyste smugi — będące wstawkami innego metalu wykonywano z czystego żelaza kowalnego (np. smugi wąskie) lub nisko węglowej stali o za-wartości C 0,1—0,5% (smugi i pasma o brzegu ząbkowanym i „wijące” się). Pasma „wijące” się powstały przez sple-cenie pasm różnych jakościowo z nisko-węgłowej stali. Warto tu podkreślić trudności technologiczne przy łączeniu różnych jakościowo surowców.

Mieczy z głowniami ze stali dama-sceńskiej znaleziono w trzech miejsco-wościach. Dwa miecze z Laičiai miały na powierzchni głowni jedynie dekoracy-jną warstwę stali wzorzystej. W jed-nym wypadku było to przedstawienie postaci ludzkiej. Okaz z Liškiava miał

na powierzchni głowni wzór w postaci napisu. Wreszcie ostatni miecz z Paalks-niai ozdobiony był napisem ULBRECHT i ornamentem przeplatających się smug między pasmami prostymi.

W zakończeniu autor wyraża mnie-manie, że groty oszczepów wykonane przy użyciu technologii „damasceńskiej” były produktem miejscowym, powsta-łym w zachodniej Litwie, w okolicy miasteczka Plunge. Natomiast miecze określone zostały jako importy frankoń-skie — z wyjątkiem może jednego egzemplarza z Laičiai.

Publikacja, którą pokrótce wyżej zreferowano sygnalizuje, że także na te-renach litewskich we wczesnym śred-niowieczu istniała produkcja skompli-kowanych technologicznie przedmiotów o luksusowym przeznaczeniu. Lokaliza-cja tej wytwórczości w okolicy Plunge powoduje pytanie — na jakiej podstawie autor sformułował ten wniosek. Brak analizy chemicznej przedmiotów unie-możliwia porównanie danych z właści-wościami okolicznych rud. Wypada za-znaczyć, że inny autor radziecki, w pra-cy pomieszczonej w tym samym to-mie — wskazuje na zahamowanie pro-dukcji żelaza w zachodniej Litwie w okresie wczesnośredniowiecznym, szcze-gólnie w końcowym jego okresie. Nie wykluczaloby to możliwości, że groty wykonane ze sprowadzonego surowca, bądź też mogły być importami np. z pra-cowni na ziemiach łotewskich.

J. Jaskanis

J. Stasiak, *Badania nad starożytnym krajobrazem Pojezierza Suwalskiego w rejonie Szwajcarii*. (Research on the ancient Landscape of the Suwałki Lake District in the Region of Szwajcaria). Białystok 1965, str. 37—5 ryc. w tekście — 2 tablice+2 tabele.

Nie jest zadaniem tej recenzji zaj-mowanie stanowiska co do warsztatu ani poprawności metody badawczej au-torki, gdyż robią to niewątpliwie spe-

cialiści. Pragnę natomiast zwrócić uwagę czytelnika na osiągnięte wyniki. Powstały one na skutek integracji paru nauk, a więc tej twórczej postawy, którą reprezentuje od samego początku swego istnienia zespół młodszych i starszych pracowników nauki, zgrupowany koło Kompleksowej Ekspedycji Jaćwieskiej, i to nie tylko archeologów. Trzeba bowiem powiedzieć, że proces integracji kilku nauk mimo istniejących od lat postulatów nie znajduje w życiu należytego odzwierciedlenia w procesie badawczym naszej archeologii. Byłbym niesprawiedliwy, gdybym twierdził, że tych prób się nie robi. Owszem, jest ich coraz więcej z każdym rokiem, ale niestety, kończą się one na heurystyce oraz w najlepszym razie — na dość nieporadnym w końcowym efekcie korzystaniu archeologów ze zdobyczy nauk przyrodniczych do zobrazowania dynamiki rozwoju gospodarczego badanych społeczeństw, a więc drzemiące możliwości w tym zakresie nie zostają przez nas do reszty wykorzystane w czasie budowania syntezy historycznej. Co jest tego przyczyną? Przyczyną tego jest fakt, że nie nakierowuje się badań różnych specjalistów-przyrodników na ten dział czy dziedzinę obserwacji oraz etapu badań heurystycznych, które są potrzebne nam historykom, ale pozostawia się przedstawicielom nauk przyrodniczych zakres badań naszego materiału całkowicie dowolny lub połowiczny (słynne „oznaczenie”), użyteczny przede wszystkim dla systematyki nauk przyrodniczych. Jest on nam potrzebny do dość oklepanego już wniosku o przewadze hodowli nad myśliwstwem w gospodarce danej społeczności, co oczywiście nie wyczerpuje możliwości poznawczych, jakie nam dają źródła botaniczne i zoologiczne. Że tak jest w istocie i że zarzut ten nie jest gołosłowny, niech świadczy np. drobny fakt z dziedziny paleobotaniki. W ilu wypadkach paleobotanicy, opisując wydobyte przez nas materiały, byli uprzejmi napisać, czy określane przez

nich ziarna z uwagi na barwę zostały nadpalone, prażone czy osuszane w specjalnej jamie, nim zostały przez nas wydobyte z obrębu chaty lub innego obiektu przestrzennego. Ten sam katalog próśb można by było skierować pod adresem zoologów. Proszę mi wskazać większą ilość powojennych polskich publikacji materiału kostnego, w których by była naliczona tak zwana minimalna ilość osobników z warstw (lub warstwy) kulturowej danego stanowiska i danego gatunku lub wychwycone zmiany patologiczne u chorych zwierząt, które — jak nietrudno się domyślać — przy kierowanej hodowli były przede wszystkim zabijane dla celów konsumpcyjnych itd.

Przechodząc do omówienia recenzowanej w tej chwili publikacji nie mam na myśli, że autorka wspomniany w wstępie postulat integracji nauk przyrodniczych i historycznych wypełniła w całej rozciągłości. Tak nie było. Faktem jest jednak, że badania jej zostały nakierunkowane rygorystycznie w nurt potrzeb syntezy historycznej. Celem jej badań w ramach naszej Ekspedycji było bowiem zdobycie w drodze postępowania badawczego zespołu faktów użytecznych dla historii gospodarczej tego regionu, a nie systematyki geologiczno-morfologicznej oraz hydrograficzno-botanicznej. Chodziło bowiem o to, aby możliwie jak najbardziej przybliżyć jej wyniki, uzyskane metodami przyrodniczymi, do potrzeb wnioskowania historycznego i sądzę, że z tego postulatu, narzuconego jej przez K.E.J., autorka wyszła zwycięsko.

Wśród wielu cennych danych, zawartych w tej publikacji, najwartościowszym elementem, który daje najwięcej materiału jest diagram oznaczony jako tablica II. Postarajmy się go pokrótce zreferować od strony historycznej, ściślej — od strony historii upraw tego regionu. Jest bowiem rzeczą bardzo interesującą, że badany obszar, który w starożytności był centrum dyspozycyjnym pewnego obszaru plemiennego, odzwier-

ciędlą w różnej mierze stan wykorzystania arealów uprawowych w badanych okresach i z tego diagramu można wyczytać rzeczywiście wiele o osadnictwie i gospodarce tego regionu na przestrzeni dziejów. Jest przy tym rzeczą interesującą, że stosunek tych zjawisk na tym obszarze odpowiada w grubszym zarysie temu, co wiemy ze źródeł historycznych i badań archeologicznych o działalności osadniczej człowieka na tym terytorium. Tak np. w okresie halsztackim, w czasie pogarszania się klimatu i nagromadzenia dużej ilości zastoisk, w badanym rejonie, obejmującym około 25 km<sup>2</sup>, rozprzestrzeniały się lasy szpilkowe (świerkowe) ze stosunkowo niewielką ilością sosny. Obszar uprawowy obejmował najprawdopodobniej niewielkie polećka prosa, choć i tu uprawa została przerwana gdzieś około roku 550 przed n.e. W okresie lateńskim skurczyły się obszary poroście świerkiem na rzecz brzozy, która zaczęła porastać na nie wykorzystanych gospodarczo porębach i na popieliskach. Między 350 a 200 rokiem przed n.e. z chwilą nagłej poprawy klimatu pojawiły się znowu uprawy prosa oraz wiele chwastów, a także zwiększyły się uprawy ogrodowe na skutek uprawiania poletek wokół zabudowań systemem kopieniaczym.

We wczesnym podokresie rzymskim występuje pyłek *Triticum* (pszenicy); towarzyszy mu występujący w mniejszych ilościach pyłek żyta oraz jęczmienia, a wśród nich krzewi się jako chwast charbér. W tym okresie obok upraw zbożowych zaznacza się także występowanie dużych partii upraw „ogrodowych” oraz większej inwazji lasów liściastych na obszarach zajmowanych dotychczas przez świerk. W omawianym okresie intensywność upraw jest duża i odzwierciedla ona na diagramie działalność gospodarczą pierwszych etapów zasiedlenia tego regionu, wykrytego przez nas w czasie badań archeologicznych zarówno na podstawie cmentarzyska w Szwajcarii, jak i osady w Osinkach. Na ten też

okres czasu przypadają odkryte przez nas narzędzia produkcji rolnej w postaci radła z radlicą łopatkową, kosera itp. Był to okres, kiedy w łonie społeczeństwa jeszcze się nie ugruntowała dyferencjacja zawodowa i nie ukształtowała się wyraźna „arystokracja plemienna” jako zapowiedź pierwszych nierówności społecznych tej grupy ludzkiej. Wówczas to stosunek obszarów uprawowych do lasu wypalonego kształtował się tutaj w III—IV w. przy największym natężeniu arealów uprawowych jak 1:3 na korzyść wypalenisk nieuprawowych i nieobsianych, a także ugorów lub innych nieokreślonych upraw ogrodowych. W świetle tego diagramu widać, że natężenie tych upraw w ciągu paru wieków było nierównomierne i odbywało się skokami. Największe ich natężenie — jak widać na diagramie — przypada między III i IV w. n.e., maleje zaś około wieku V, co na ogół jest zgodne z wynikami badań archeologicznych, przeprowadzonych w rejonie Szwajcarii—Osinki. Jest np. rzeczą charakterystyczną, że inędzy IV a V w. — okresem wyrażnej dominacji „wodzów” i arystokracji plemiennej, pochowanych na pobliskim cmentarzysku w Szwajcarii — uprawy zbożowe zmniejszyły się, a powiększyły się tereny opanowane przez brzozę; istniały także uprawy „ogrodowe” lub ugory. Jasny stąd wypływa wniosek, że ta grupa ludzka szukała innych możliwości bytowania i zdobywania środków utrzymania, które by charakterem bardziej odpowiadały okresowi rozwiniętej „demokracji wojennej”. W tym czasie nie było najprawdopodobniej czasu na systematyczne zajęcia rolne dla mężczyzn ani na pracochłonne prace polowe w pewnych okresach. Najprawdopodobniej ta grupa ludzka szukała możliwości bytowania w rozwijającej się hodowli, a także w rabunku cudzych stad bydła i stąd ten widoczny regres upraw zaprezentowanych nam na diagramie.

Powstawanie nowych jakości osad-

nicznych, datowanych na V—VI wiek n.e. (grupa kurhanów typu Prudziszki), znalazło znowu odzwierciedlenie w diagramie w postaci nowego natężenia upraw zbożowych oraz innych upraw nieokreślonych, a także nie wykorzystanych ugorów. Zmniejszyły się wtedy lasy liściaste na rzecz lasów sosnowych. Okres ten trwał gdzieś do około roku 650 n.e. i jego odpowiednikiem archeologicznym są ostatnie zespoły kurhanowe w Suchodolach i Krzywólce. Okres między VII a VIII wiekiem charakteryzuje się słabym i pewnie niewielkim osadnictwem w tym rejonie, za czym świadczą liczne ugory i szybkie porastanie brzozą obszarów zajmowanych dotychczas przez lasy szpilkowe. Około roku 850 n.e. pojawiło się tu znowu osadnictwo, które trwało do około roku 1200 z dwiema niewielkimi przerwami. Koniec XII i początek XIII wieku był okresem całkowitego załamania się gospodarczego tego regionu, co jest prawdopodobne. Być może, nastąpiło to na skutek przesunięć organizacyjnych osadnictwa w okresie parcia Jaćwieży na rozdrobnioną feudalnie Polskę, a także porzucania rolnictwa na rzecz grabieży płodów rolnych i bydła na obczyźnie. Gdzieś w połowie XIII w. rozwinęły się znowu areale uprawowe

przy istnieniu dużych partii ugorów, po których nastąpiło nowe załamanie gospodarcze, związane już może z katastrofą polityczną Jaćwieży. W wiekach następnych nie była to puszczka nie zamieszkała, jak sugerują źródła krzyżackie (tzw. „Wildnis”), ale istniały niewielkie areale uprawowe i duże połacie ugorów, które były likwidowane dość intensywnie w końcu XIV w. Począwszy od XV w. zwiększa się obszar upraw przy dużych w dalszym ciągu połaciach ugorów wywołanych — jak się zdaje — przede wszystkim trójpólowym systemem uprawy ziemi.

Jak z powyższego widać, praca J. Stasiakowej jest wartościowym podkładem do korelacji ze źródłami historycznymi, archeologicznymi, a także językoznawczymi (toponomastycznymi) dla badacza dziejów osadnictwa tego obszaru. Wydobyto z niej — stosując metody nauk przyrodniczych — to wszystko, co może być użyteczne do budowania syntezy historycznej. I na tym polega jej wartość dla historyka starożytnych i wczesnośredniowiecznych dziejów ziem północno-wschodnich Polski.

Jerzy Antoniewicz

## ETHNOGRAPHIA

A. Johansons, *Der Schirmherr des Hofes im Volksglauben der Letten. Studien über Orts-, Hof- und Hausgeister*. (The protecting divinities in the beliefs of the folk-population in Latvia. Studies of the local, household and cottage divinities). Stockholm 1964, 304 pp. and 3 illustrations enclosed with the text on the separate tables.

The broad, profoundly analytic and thorough study by Andrejs Johansons, covering the field of the beliefs in the Old Latvia, clearly points out, that the role of the protecting divinities

in the household of a Latvian corresponding to the Eastern-Slav household brownies, which in Poland were known under the most various names, was much greater in the Latvian religious beliefs than it has been assumed, so far. The protecting household divinities appear in the ancient culture as commonly known Lares and Penates, or the Greek A "agathos daimon". They are known, too, in the German folklore as laborious "koblts", which are incessantly busy, willingly helping, under the cover of night, in the household occupations and



replacing with fervour the housekeepers in their work. The Latvian household brownie (*dieviņš* — small divinity, *Majas kungs* — the household protecting brownie) takes care of the house-mates, animals and the whole cottage, including the garden. Fields and meadows, are not, however, within its competence, constituting — according to a 17th century Jesuit relation — the domain of the agrarian divinity *Ceroklis*. The house-mates feed the brownie not only on the occasions of the family-celebrations but, as a rule, before every meal. The first morsels of every meal as well as the first drops of every drink are given to the brownie in order to gain its favourable disposition and to prevent themselves against its malicious vengeance for neglecting its feeding. The food-offerings given to the brownie are thrown for him under the table or benches, behind the stove as well as into every corner of the room, in a request for its protection of the property, of the household as well as of the whole cottage against fire, illness and any other misfortune. As far as beliefs are concerned, the Finnish neighbours of the Latvians generally make offerings of all the first-fruits to the household protecting brownie, which gives evidence of the exceptionally great antiquity of the household divinities. As the supernatural beings of this category — to which the Schirmherr des Hofes also belongs — they mostly feminine (though the cottage master is never of feminine gender), they are defined by the name "Mate" — mather, and, some times *dievs* god (though its does not mean "god" in this context particularly because of the fact that the word appears in the diminutive form *dieviņš*) and *kungs* master, and it is incontestable and undeniable that they belong to the early stage of the evolution of the religious beliefs, i. e. to the period in which the matriarchal, animistic images were born. Then it is simply a sensation, that

offerings made to these ancient and protecting divinities occur as late as in the 19th century, and, more over, even in the 1910, in the evidence of the latter being given by an information about the ritual practices of this type, observed by a certain Latvian woman. Even by 1935 many Latvians believed in the existence of the household brownie (*majas gors*), nestling behind the stove, under the floor or in other places, too, and taking care of both the whole cottage and the life lived in it, actively helping in all the household occupations.

Two protestant priests who fought with this type of superstitions wrote down in 1784 and 1836 the extensive and precise reports about the belief in the existence of the household protecting brownie, and the offerings made to it to gain its sympathy. The household brownies are called in different manner: *Celis* (tall), *Belis* (white?) and, too *Zemes dievs*, the latter being called by Lithuanians — *Zemepatis*, what precisely means — master of soil. It is not, however a master — a god of soil, but the protecting brownie, taking care of the yard, as well as of the whole household and cottage — the Lithuanian *Zemininkas*. The Lithuanian diminution "dieviņš", expressively gives evidence of the fact that it refers to the protecting brownie, only, and not to an idol. It is rare, however, that the brownie is called by its proper name this is similar to the case of Ruthenia in this respect, where the household brownie is called: he, alone, "kormilec" "susedko", to which names the Latvian "Maizes tevs" corresponds.

The protecting brownie, the "Schirmherr des Hofes" appears under various incarnations: as a bird, a frog, a snake (similarly as among Greeks, Southern-Slavs and Finno-Ugrian peoples), or as a man. The snake means a protecting divinity, not an idol in the Lithuanian house. The ground-reptiles: the frog and the snake which constitute a presonifi-

cation of the protecting brownie, remain in an undoubted relation with the cult of the deceased, who live underground. In my opinion this phenomenon could be treated as a reflection of the ancestor-worship character, totemistic and animistic images, which are typical of the societies of the primary community, at the stage of matriarchy. This observation is in concordance with the above mentioned description of the remains of the beliefs, typical of such an early stage. Thus, it seems strange that Johanson approaches with a prejudice all the attempts of seeking the reminiscences of the ancestor-worship, i.e. of the primary cult of ancestors in the system of the Latvian beliefs with regard to the Schirnherr des Hofes, and writes (p. 98) about "... eine nicht-manistische Provenienz des Hof- und Hausgeistes." (... a not belonging to the ancestor-worship of household and cottage divinities). But according to the words written by the author himself (p. 95), the Latvian brownie, protecting households — *Majas kungs* (master of the house) is, too, called *Vecainis*, i.e. "old", which is similar to the Ruthenian "domowoj": *Starik* and *deduszka* (old man), as well as to the Scandinavian Hof — Hausgeist. "gubbe" (old). It is deeply expressive, because no one else than the old people are defined by the word "veciši" — (old people), being also described as household divinities. The protecting brownies as well as the deceased are fed together on the stove or behind it. Johanson is not willing to see in all these facts, first of all, any reminiscences of ancestor worship (*Mannes cult*) of the connected with the cult of the deceased, though it is, sometimes, difficult to him to deny the existence of the above mentioned relations. (p. 97) His reluctant attitude to the point of view, advocating the existence of genetic relations between the cottage protecting divinities and the cult of the ancestors, have led him to a

static approach to the problem of the cottage-protecting divinities. Johanson does not seem to notice the obvious traces of the stratigraphy of ideological representations of the successive stages of their changes and transformations and of the evolutionary dynamics of beliefs, taken as a whole.

The animistic cult of Nature divinities, crystallized at the passage to settled-down form of living, lies at the basis of the phenomenon analysed by the author, namely of household protecting divinities, the matriarchal nomenclature of which "mate-mather" unequivocally permits to assign the early chronological data of this phenomenon belonging to the ideological over-structure.

A zoomorphic, totemistic epiphany of protecting brownies under the form of a frog or snake, point out, too, such an early certificate of birth. The further evolution of animistic beliefs results in the anthropomorphism of the divinities which, finally, little by little are transformed into the divine hierarchy, which constitutes a reflection of the ever more complicated structure of the patriarchal community of the epoch of the primary society, in the process of its decomposition. The animation and "spiritualization" of Nature is followed by the introduction of social forces to the ideological over-structure. The increasing process of both social and economic changes finds its reflection in the enrichment of the terminology defining the household divinities with new elements corresponding to the proceeding decay of the organisation of primary community and the coming out of social inequalities (kungs-master and dievs-god). The ancestor worship, developing within the frames of the patriarchal social structure ancestor will be soon transformed into the cult of gods — polytheism.

The analysis of the cult of the Latvian household brownie permits, thus,

to notice rich deposits of the stratifying successively layers of ideological representation of the primitive society (pre-class society). The stratygraphy of these layers reveals the evolutionary dynamics of the early stages of the religious beliefs fossilised in the system of the Latvian beliefs, giving evidence of their animistic as well as that of ancestor worship pedigree.

That is why, contrary to Johansons (p. 97) I would not disregard the opinion by M. Bruneniekš, who derives the household protecting divinities from ghosts of the deceased ancestors, buried in the hearth, as well as that, expressed by G. Wissowa, who derives the cult of the Roman household Lares from burials arranged within the house area. Archaeology knows from long ago the common custom of burying the deceased within the house or in its direct vicinity, as well as that of giving to the places destined for the remains of the deceased the form of the the house; the most remote paleolithic western-European burials reveal the deceased, who were placed just in the hearth or close to it. This custom finds, of course its consequent reflection in the system of beliefs resulting in some notions which lie within the frames of the then ruling animism and ancestor-worship.

In the second chapter of his book, Johansons demonstrates the household protecting brownie within the house area, especially stressing the relations between the "Schirmherr des Hofes" and the most important places of the house interior, namely the hearth and the stove. The ritual of the wedding ceremonies as well as rites connected with christening—feast expressively show the addressee — the protecting brownie, honoured during the above mentioned celebrations. The feminine gender of these beings is worth of attention: *Uguns mate* (mother of fire), though the "god" of fire (*Uguns dievs*) also exists. Then the author describes

the relation between the household protecting brownie and the hook serving for hanging the kettle over the fire and he even cites in this respect the definition "Kesselhakengeist" (The divinity of the kettle-hook). It is the *Gausas mate* — mother of the blessed abundant. The threshold is regarded, too, as the home of the divinity which protects the household, of the fate-divinity of the patroness of nativity as well as of the feminine *Ļaima*, being also the residence of the deceased ancestors.

The brownie of the drying-shed and thrashing place — the Latvian *Rījas kungs*, which is known in Lithuania under the name *Gubiania*, is called in Ruthenia "batuszka swinnik" — the grandfather of the drying-shed, while in Livonia it is called *vectevs* — (grandfather). All these names have an undoubted feature of ancestor worship, though Johansons — as we have already seen — is reluctant to suspect in this respect a symptom of the cult of the deceased ancestors. Mother of fire (*Uguns mate*) lives, too in the hearth of the corn drying-shed, being also called "old woman" (*Veca baba*), *Jumis* — the divinity of grain which inhabits the granary is identified with father of bread (*Maizes tevs*), being a divinity which takes care of the whole cottage. This results from the fact that the divinities, which protect not only the cottages are present not only in the proper house but in the other buildings too, and particularly, in places containing hearth — similar to that in the house — i. e. in the drying-shed and vapour bath. They also live in certain stones which are placed in granaries and have borrowed holes into which the offerings are put. The vapour-bath is inhabited by the brownie which is called "bannik" in Russia and "ļažnik" in Byelorussia, while in Latvia it is inhabited by *Pirts mate* — mother of vapour-bath as well as by other divinities such as *Ļaima*, the protectress of

women (especially of pregnant ones), or *Zemes dievs* — "god" of soil — as well as by the souls of the deceased. The definition of the divinity which lives in the vapour-bath with the expression "Grandfather" — *vecais tevs* is significant with regard to the above-mentioned information. Johansons is right to consider the already mentioned and so-called "divinity of soil" as well as other Latvian "gods" (*deus porcorum* — *Tenis*, *deus equorum* — *Zirgu dievs*, *deus boum* and *deus ovium*) — which are mentioned in a certain Jesuit biography, and which correspond to the eastern-Slav brownies taking care of pigsty and its inhabitants — not to be any separate god, but simply (pp. 194, 196) as a peculiar expression of the protecting activity of the household brownie. As it has been already said, the author is reluctant to the conception of the ancestor worship, as far as the interpretation of the phenomenon of household brownies is concerned (p. 197) this seems, however, to be a misunderstanding, if one bears in mind that the intensification of the cult of household divinities — as far as the calendar of the annual holidays is concerned — occurs in the period of special cult of the deceased ancestors, fed by the house-mates in the same time as well as places that household brownies are contented. The only argument Johansons operates with in this respect in his reservations against the theory of ancestor worship is his observation is, that the protecting divinities — *Majas kungs* — do not like pees and beans which, in turn, are the favourite dishes, consumated in cemeteries on the Day of the Deceased. According to the author's point of view, this fact gives evidence against the opinion that the divinities protecting households bear the feature of ancestor worship (pp. 225 and 226.).

In his book Johansons, generally speaking, deals only with the inferior super-natural beings — with

brownies protecting the Latvian household, and he mentions only on the margin some divinities of the Latvian Pantheon. Johansons quotes an information of the Jesuit yearbook, dating from 1606, about the observed in Latvia cult of "god" of heavens, and of divinity of soil, to which other super-natural beings were to be subjected: brownie of cattle, brownie of cows, brownie horses as well as these taking care of people's needs. Though the above mentioned relation demonstrates the hierarchy of the super-natural beings, setting off their mutual dependence, it blots out, however, the important difference which divides the divinities from the world of demons. The protecting brownies are in decisive majority as far as the super natural beings mentioned by this 17th century yearbook are concerned, and only some of them can be considered as real divinities, expressing the cult of the cosmic forces and of Nature-phenomena. The chthonic divinity of soil, which is of feminine gender — *Zemes mate* and to which Latvians make offerings of a black cock, worshipping in it, from the epoch of matriarchy, the fertile forces of Nature is reckoned by the author to them. By an application of a subtle differentiation between *Zemes mate* — mother of soil and *zemes dievs* — "god" of soil, the author accuses the 18th century authors — Bergmann and Hupe! a confusion of these notions, which define two different categories of super-natural beings: the chthonic divinity of soil and the cottage protecting brownie. The second divinity, an atmospheric one, — god of thunders and lightning — Perkons, represents the image of forces of Nature, the role of which is so important in the agrarian husbandry of Old-Latvians. They make offerings to it not only of a black cock, but even of a black goat or a black calf. According to a Riga Jesuit yearbook, dating from 1589, the beggings sent to heavenly powers during dry season to

procure rain took place under the ancient and tall trees, which had been probably inhabited by the atmospheric divinity of thunders; the offerings made to the super-natural beings were placed under the roots of great trees. The Jesuit relation, dating from 1606 gives mention of a certain metaphysical creature — *deus equorum, quem vocant Dewing Uschinge*. It is the-dievinš *Usinš* — brownie of horses, also called. *Zirgu dievs, Zirgu mate* (mother of horses) Johanson rejects (p. 201) the hypothesis which endeavours the derivation of the etymology of the name *Usinš* from the ancient-Indian *usas* (the dawn), and regards the “god” using as the Latvian, pagan idol of light or sun. This is rather an attractive hypothesis, because the sun-idol of which a horse is just an attribute or emblem was known in the pre-historic Europe.

According to the author, *Usinš* is not so much the divinity of horses, being rather the typical household protecting brownie, which presents the house-mates with good and evil. Johanson is willing to accept in this respect the results of the correct and reasonable linguistic analysis made by J. Endzeliņš, who derives the definition “*Usinš*” from the ancient-German name for husing (*Penates*) adopted from the first German newcomers, who settled down in Latvia in the 12th and 13th centuries. The word *Spoks* — “*Gespenst*”) spectre — and the word *pukis* “*Drahe*” (dragon) as well as the household brownie in Livonia and Semigalia — *Stepins*, the name of which derives from the northern-Turin “*Stefanek*” (*Steppchen*)—*Steve*, which name has come to the distant Latvia.

The problem of the name *Usinš* is by no means a simple one. Some of the explorers regard it as an adoption from Slavs, namely from the Ruthenian *Usenš-Owsen*, which is connected with the horse through oats, i. e. is a divinity of grain — a typical divinity of Nature;

it seems, to me, however, that this super-natural creature constitutes a conglomerate of some metaphysical beings having different competences and attributes, and that its primary hierarchic rank could be much higher in the Latvian pantheon, and its devaluation to the rank of a modest, protecting brownie — corresponding to the grain-divinity *Jumis*, inhabiting granaries or to the father of bread, *Maizes tevs*, nestling under field-stones — could occur in the period of German colonization. The hen butter, milk, wool and others should be mentioned among the types of offerings which used to be put on isolated cult-stones, or by the fence in the garden. The offering of a han is considered not only in Latvia but among other peoples, too, as a typical food-offer given to the brownies protecting households. Such an offering, has been discovered during the excavation works at Biskupin, in an early mediaeval settlement, dating from the 10th — the 11th centuries; the offering was covered with a stone, and has been found in a hollow, discovered under the cinders of the cottage-buildings. Money-offerings destined for the brownie (the traces of offerings of this type have been recently discovered during the excavation works at Vatican, in the supposed grave of St. Peter in Rome), used to be thrown into the hearth or to the holes, specially drilled in troughs, located in cow-sheds. The offering of wax, which used to be sometimes put by the church-fence is worth of attention I would be inclined to see in it the cause of the peculiar and fairly common predilection for offering in the church “a candle to God”, as well as the explanation of the meaning of the proverbial offering of “a candle-stump to devil”. The archaeological excavations, carried on in Latvia, in the locality Strasden, in the Talsen region, by E. Šturms have led to the discovery of a group consisting of 10 grave-pits, in a close hill-earthwork, which a

Livonian shoulder-belt permitted to assign to the 11th—14th centuries. Hen, hog, cow and horse bones as well as human bones occurring in some grave-pits, and particularly fingers, constituted the remains found in them, reminding an usual practice observed by paleolithic troglodytes as well as by some modern, and most primitive peoples, depriving themselves of fingers, in a mournful of votive gesture. It should be added here, that the archaeological excavations have discovered traces of human offerings made by Baltic peoples as early as in the Iron Age.

A special recognition is due to Johanson for the fact that during the work on his thorough study he not once and willingly exploits archaeological sources enriching and profounding in this way his analysis. For instance while analysing the problem of foundation offerings, he refers to the following discoveries: 1) a whale-skull, found in the foundation of a house in Riga before World War I, 2) skulls, mainly horse-ones, found in the foundations of various buildings, dating from the 11th — 12th centuries, which have been discovered during the excavation works carried on in Zamkowa Góra (Castle — Mountains) in the locality of Talsi, in 1936, and 3) a phenomenon of unusual interest, namely, one of the 11th century skulls which had been encircled with ox-horns. A hog-skull found under a corner stone of a house, which constitutes one of the most recent discoveries (1962) and derives from the village of Lejasdopeli in Semigalia, is reckoned by the author among the excavations of this same category. The above mentioned archaeological sources permit to dissolve a long years-lasting scientific dispute concerning the real destiny and proper sense of the offerings placed in the house-foundations, and, too, stress their apotropeic character, which is also confirmed by a Latvian custom of placing ox-horns in the foundations of the

cow-shed for apotropeic purposes, as well as by an Ukrainian conviction according to which there existed a possibility of the perception of all misfortunes and illness by a horse-skull dug under the house. The conclusion to which Johanson comes in his deliberations is, however, more close to the traditional interpretation of offerings placed in the house-foundations. Namely, Johanson is of the opinion that the offering placed in the house foundations before the construction of the house was destined to the Latvian "divinity" of soil — *Zemes dievs* (genius Loci) aiming at gaining its sympathy and inducing it to become the protector of the cottage, which would be built on this place.

The above mentioned Latvian custom of placing ox-horns in the foundations of the cow-shed for apotropeic reasons is of particular interest for a Polish archaeologist, who knows the discovery of bison-horns under the corner stone of a 12th century house in Nakło on the Noteć river.

The analysed by the author practice (p. 199) of preserving in Latvian cow-sheds horns of domestic animals as offerings made to the divinity protecting the household and constituting in the same time an apotropeic practice, aiming at protecting a given breeding against misfortune, is, too, of a vital interest to us. I have personally faced the analogous phenomenon during the excavation of a 13th — the 14th centuries of a Jewish settlement at Płock in Poland, where a mass of goat — and ram-horns which were found in a pigsty, located within the area of the cottage belonging to a Jewish merchant gave evidence — in my opinion — of traces of an activity of serfs, of a Baltic origin, belonging to the well-off merchant. The authority of Aleksander Brückner whose approach to records and opinions was often marked with great disregard and unusual per-

emptoriness, constituted a hampering factor for the studies carried on in the field of not only Slav but Baltic religion, too. As Andrejs Johansons is in turn, critical (p. 28) to some Brückner's opinions, I consider the quotation in extenso of the Johansons's opinion to be suitable in this respect —: "Let me — writes Johansons — to draw your attention to the fact, that all what is said by Brückner in his various works which is directly connected with the field of Latvian beliefs, should be accepted with an utmost criticism and checked in every case, especially because of the assumption that Brückner neither was connected with the respective sources in a direct way, nor possessed a sufficient knowledge of Latvian language. W. C. Jaśkiewicz expresses his point of view with regard to the numerous A. Brückner's opinions, concerning the Lithuanian religion in a *Study in Lithuanian Mythology*, "Studi Baltici", IX (Florence 1952), p. 106, where he writes about Brückner that "he is mainly responsible for the most typical mistakes in the field of the studies of the ancient Lithuanian religion."

Knowledge of religions has, of course, come out from this dead-lock enjoying now a full thriveness in the field of explorations and can boast of important achievements with regard to the extension of the exploratory problems as well as of valuable methodological definitions, the evidence to which is most excellently given by the Johansons's book, which has been shortly analysed in this article.

Włodzimierz Szafrński

St. Piekarczyk, *O społeczeństwie i religii w Skandynawii w VIII—XI w.* (About Scandinavian Society and Religion in the 8th — the 11th Centuries), Warszawa 1963, 260 pp, 15 illustrations.

The interesting and valuable study by S. Piekarczyk acquaints the reader with early mediaeval, pagan beliefs in Scandinavia, in the social and economic context of an early-feudal, class-society in the process of its formation, as well as in that of the cristallisation of the first political organisms of early-mediaeval states. Because of the close Slavic and Scandinavian contacts existing, moreover, earlier than in the early Middle Ages, the attention of Polish archaeologists, and particularly that of the explorers dealing with ancient history of the society which in Ancient times inhabited our northern territories, neighbouring with the Scandinavian North, should be focussed on the problems included in the study by Stanisław Piekarczyk.

In a number of separate chapters the author gives us a picture of the relations of the Scandinavian religion with economics and both public and state life, dealing further on, with a problem of capital importance, namely with mutual relations between power and royal function on the one hand, and religion — on the other. Finally, the author completes his analysis with the problem connected with introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia. He notices "that aspects of dieties to which a political meaning was assigned, emerges explicitly from under the surface of Scaldic poetry". This authorizes him to draw the conclusion that "as productivity dieties — as far as broader sections of the community were concerned — they constituted objects of a religious cult, while among jarls and circles connected with them — they played the role of political and military protectors of the King's action." (p. 204). "The ruler — concludes the author — connecting himself with dieties of fertility could, in consequence, relate himself with those dieties which in the mythology of the royal court had been transformed from dieties of fertility into military protectors and, in a

wider sense, into the protectors of the whole political action of the King". (p. 205)

The system of phallic beliefs and of cults of fertility and good crops, connected — as far as productivity of man had been concerned — with care for good harvests, successful breeding of domestic animals and numerosity of the population was reflected in the ideological over-structure of the social organism of the period. This sphere of Scandinavian religion is of vital interest for a Polish archaeologist who discovered a number of objects connected just with phallic cults. The author cites (p. 40) in interesting story, dating from the close of the 13th century, about certain cult-practices, observed in mansions of rich landlords, possessing slaves. This rite consisted in passing from hand to hand a horse phallus, preserved by the house-keeper with garlic and wrapped into a piece of flax linen. This practice aimed at the magical assurance of sexual power. The following formula had to be recited in the same time: "Increase phallus (*Volsi*) and straighten up, strengthened with flax and supported with garlic. Let Morna accept this offering, and you, landlord, take *Volsi* (phallus)."

As there exist two equivalent alternatives with regard to the translation of the word "lauk", which appears in the above mentioned magical formula, (p. 40), the author has been undecided whether the word onion or garlic should be applied in this case. Already in Ancient times garlic was applied in Egypt, Babylonia, Greece and Rome, being also advised by the Talmud as an excellent remedy against sexual impotency. This fact explicitly explains the presence of garlic in the magical rite of the magic of fertility. A mediaeval Russian record, the so-called "A word about how pagans served idols", includes, too, an information that. "During wedding ceremonies Slaves used to put a phallus and garlic into a bucket and drank out

of it...". It is worth to be recalled that two wooden images of the phallus (besides that drowned in the bucket) have been also discovered in a well, dating from 12th — the 13th centuries, and located in the earthwork at Tum, near Łęczycza. As far as garlic is concerned, it has been known to us from the excavations in Gdańsk, dating from the beginning of the 4th century. It is not difficult, then, to interpret the description included in the above mentioned Scandinavian formula, referring to the straightened up phallus, strengthened with flax. Flax appeared in the Polish magic with transparent and obvious allusions. During the traditional feast, celebrated on Shrovetide, a peculiar, magical dance "of high flax" used to be danced by married women in inns, in a belief, that flax would grow as high as their dance-jumps had been. The ancient wedding song about hop, also contained explicit allusions to the cult of fertility and should be reckoned among the oldest Polish ritual songs. Hops, reaching sometimes even several meters of height, thanks to the support of poles, was an association with the phallus in its fecundating position. That was why those metaphors used to be applied to the magic of fertility. They, too, resulted from the obligatory in this respect principle that similarity produced similarity and that things which once had been in mutual contact did not stop to mutually influence each other. It was an imitating, metaphoric and "contact"-magic; the magical rite assumed application of garlic for preservation purposes, namely for that of the phallus, and — to guarantee its desired erection — wrapping it into a piece of flax linen.

The author gives an interesting news, that flax as well as onion, or, eventually, garlic were included in an inscription which has been perused on a knife, dating from the 4th century. According to the substantiated author's



opinion the knife undoubtedly constituted an amulet worn by a woman. I would add in this respect, that this amulet certainly was a symbol of the phallus. The sword used to be called (figuratively) in the scaldic poetry onion or garlic. The spear, too, was considered to be a phallic symbol, among various, primitive communities. An attempt could be also made to prove the above on the basis of the material cited by the author, to mention only the scene of the procession in the cult of fertility, which has been discovered on a runic stone from Gothland a shovel and a sickle as well as just a spear were carried during it; i.e. the implements connected with both cultivation and fecundation of soil, as well as with crops. (p. 54) The author is of a justified opinion (p. 43), that "weapons called in this way (garlic, flax — W. S.) had to emphasize their propriety of bringing luck in the battle." The above mentioned formulation constitutes a certain compendium, omitting in this syllogism the premise referring to the magic of fertility. The sword called garlic, was becoming a talisman, able — as a symbol of the phallus — to ensure a success in the battle. This resulted from the known apotropeic role of sexual organs. It is characteristic how great is the chronological convergence of the described magical practices, observed among Scandinavian rich land-owners with similar practices of the magic of fertility, observed in the same period among Polish feudals, in spite of the adoption of Christianity by them. It can constitute an illustration of the phenomenon that pagan beliefs, as those which were able better to meet the demands of the society (in its own opinion), used to survive in societies, formally christian.<sup>1</sup> The discovery of two wooden phalluses during the archaeological explorations (both dating from the 13th century) in the Łęczycza earthwork, constitutes an analogy to the peculiar custom, according to

which phallic images were kept in Norwegian christian households, what was severely punished with bannishment and confiscation of land, (pp. 43 and 44).

The 14th century-mention about a peculiar, apotropeic custom of driving a hoe into the holes dug in the four corners of a duel-square, aiming at the retortion of bad powers, may — to some extent — be helpful in an attempt of interpreting the magical function of our unclear in meaning, small, copper figurine, representing eneolithic Bytynian oxes in a yoke, and probably put to the hoe. The rightness of such an approach to the destination of this type of images is supported by the Scandinavian rock-drawings, connected with agricultural cults, and representing a phallic ploughman (pp. 37—39), pointing out that not only that in magical orders there existed relations between the phallic cult and the tillage, but also — as far as the practices of the imitative magic were concerned — between the phallus and the hoe, revealing the role of the phallic image as that of ensuring happiness; The case is similar to the above mentioned sword, called by scalds garlic, being in this way identified with the phallus.

Finally, a Soandinavian custom (pp. 44, 45, 47 and 63) of locating phallic symbols in a form of big, stone-monuments (by which married women used to confirm by oath matrimonial faithfulness) along the borders of cultivated fields, the crops of which they were to ensure, seems to resemble the analogous phenomenon, known in Silesia, where — as it was pointed by Karol Maleczyński — some peculiar, big stones had an obvious relation with the line of the borders of big, land-estates; a great, stone-pole, which has been discovered at Garncarsko, near Słęża, has obviously the form of the phallus. I would reckon the following information among the most valuable mentions given by the author (pp. 50—223): In Iceland, in 1000,

an exceptional dispensation was given from the prohibition of the consumption of horse-flesh (that means of the flesh of animal consacred to Frey — the phallic idol of fertility and good crops, the name of which derived from the root "fria" — to love), which had been forbidden in a fear that pagan customs and practices could be revived in this way. This fact constitutes both an illustration and a commentary to the phenomenon which has been noticed during the excavations carried on at Plock, namely to the occurrence of horse-bones with traces of scorching in fire, which constituted undoubtedly the remains after ritual meals, and have been found among the bone-material, discovered at the site of the pagan cult, dating from the 9th—10th centuries.

Among the rich gallery of Scandinavian dieties, described by the author, some are worth of particular attention. The name of the diety of good crops, called Njord (p. 51), could eventually contained the definition "earth"—jord, reflecting, on the other hand, its character of the diety of good crops, which primary had been a feminine one. Earth had been personified with feminine diety, as mather, giving birth. It is, then, characteristic, that Njord, once a feminine diety of good crops, was mentioned later by Tacitus as diety Nerthus, in his "Germania". The feminine diety of good crops, is sometimes a chtonic one, too. Thus, (without interfering with the competences of the linguists) I would be willing to see a certain similarity with slavic diety *Nyja* (the word deriving from the root "ny" — what means disappearance and expiration) in the vague origin of the name Njord. *Nyja* was the diety of death and subterranean light of the dead and in consequence, I would, eventually analyse this phenomenon on the platform of mutual, genetic relations as well as on that of a common origin from the same indo-european sources, or from the aspect of the neigh-

bourly influences, taking place in the course of many thousands, of years. As far as *Thor*, the diety of atmospheric phenomena (p. 56) is concerned, being particularly the diety of the lightnings and thunders, and protector of crops, depending from good weather, we not only know the early-mediaeval, hammer-shaped pendants symbolizing *Thor* and made from amber, which have been occurring at the Polish Baltic sea-side, but we, too, see in the same time, a genetic aspect of this phenomenon in the field of the ideological over-structure, going far beyond the narrow frames of the Germanic culture, integrating deeply into the epoc of the primitive-tribal communities, back to the epoc from before many thousand of years, too. In the case of the observed similarities, the mutual influence between the primitive communities, even between those long neighbouring with each other, appears not so often. Convergency constitutes a more often phenomenon in this respect, which means that we have here a symptom of the regularity of a historical process, namely of the independent cristallisation of primitive, ideological conceptions, on the basis of similar social and economic conditions, though some genetic relations as well as a possibility of the similar conceptions, originating from the same source, might not be completely excluded.

That is why it should be also taken into consideration, that Scandinavian *Dises*, *Norns* and *Valkyries*, (p. 55) constituting personifications of fate, and — according to the ancient Scandinavian songs — spinning the golden thread of human life, as well as similar images, existing among both Baltic and Illyrian tribes, could not be absent from the beliefs of ancient, Slavic tribes, even in the case of a complete lack of mutual influences with regard to the cristallization of such images. In the eastern, Slavic territories, there were known as the dieties of natavity, deciding upon the

future of newly-borns, and defining the course of their whole life; they were resembling in this respect to the Greek Fates, also spinning the thread of human life. They, undoubtedly, constituted an phenomenon, occurring in the whole Slavic territory.

The author discredits in his study, the heretofore, general, abortive opinions (pp. 8, 9, 12, 229), denying the early-mediaeval pagans the ability of the adaptation to the new conditions and that of successfully influencing (ideologically) the early-feudal, class-divided society. The author states, most rightly, that the early-mediaeval, pagan religion was revealing some successful attempts of protecting new, social order, which constitutes an obvious proof, that pagan ideology was able to follow (though not without an effort, which — on the other hand — was typical for the whole system of beliefs, conservative by its nature) social and political transformations in Scandinavia of the period, in its endeavours to adapt itself to the demands of the new situation (pp. 146, 191—193, 214—216). The dynamics of the social and economic changes, overwhelmingly influenced the development of the religious conceptions (p. 256), by postulating their accomodation to the new reality.

The, shocking today, practice of cult-toasts, was not absent from the liturgical life of the Church of the ancient Christianity. The architectonical relics of furniture from a repast-room, dating from the period about the 300th year, where feast with toasts in the honour of the apostles Peeter and Paul had been taking place, (according to the preserved inscriptions), have been discovered in Rome under the basilica of St. Sebastian in *Via Appia*.

Then, the ancient custom of rising toasts in honour of the divine personalities (pp. 59 and 60), which had been tolerated by the Church among the early-mediaeval scandinavian neophytes

was most probably nothing unpleasant or no extorted concession from the part of the latter.

Writing about the process of deification of the early-mediaeval Scandinavian ruler, the author reveals in an interesting way the specific character of this phenomenon, by its confrontation with the contrasting situation existing in other social and economic formations (pp. 183 and 184). He achieves the desired effect by putting together the confirmed by Jordanes practices aiming at the "sacralization" of the ruler in the early-class-society, with ascribing not only the ruling dynasty but the whole tribe as well the origin from the divine protoplast to the social structure of the primitive community, what appears in the Tacitus's "Germania". To this instructive attempt of the periodisation of the phenomenon of apotheosis of the outstanding social individual, the archaeologist will add the remark that, in the archaeological material, cristallized symptoms of this process can be watched as early as in the period of the primitive-community, and more concretely at the close of the Hallstatt period, while its first symptoms are visible as early as at the very beginning of the patriarchate.

The useful lecture of the book by Stanisław Piekarczyk constitutes an occasion to the analysis of the analogous problems in the Polish territory. The book, constituting an excellent example of a masterly application of the analytic method is in the same time a strong stimulus, impelling to look at our local beliefs from the aspect of the development-dynamics, to notice the frames and sequences of the elements of periodization of the phenomenon of the ideological over-structure<sup>1</sup>.

Włodzimierz Szafrąński

<sup>1</sup> Compare with the statement by Stanisław Piekarczyk published in the commemorative book of the 9th General Meeting of

St. Dworakowski, *Kultura społeczna ludu wiejskiego na Mazowszu nad Narwią* (Social Culture of the Population in Masovia along the Narew River) Part 1, Białystok 1964, 248, pp., one map.

Multilateral studies of the history of the Polish-Ruthenian-Lithuanian boundaries, taken as a whole, which have been initiated years ago, by the Sudovian Complex Expedition, and are being continued by the Białystok Scientific Society, are giving the first results also in the field of regional ethnography, so much neglected in the between-war period. The author of the monography under consideration, the first assistant of the ethnological Centre of the Warsaw Scientific Society has began his studies of customs of the north-eastern Masovia as early as in the thirties. The first results of his studies were published in the monography, entitled "Family-customs in the High-Masovian district", Warsaw, 1935. His next work of a much broader scope, entitled "Social culture of the population of the High-Masovian district", which was damaged during the war, had been in printing in 1939. After years of interval the author has somewhat extended the scope of his studies (to the western parts of the Białystok and Bielsko districts), and, on the base of the preserved materials prepared for printing one part of his reconstructed study. In the foreword, the author announces the publication of the next part of the study, which will deal with social groups of the Masovian countryside, (small gentry, peasants), the everyday both family and social life, as well as with the cultural changes which were taking place in the mentioned sections of the then population. The religious beliefs of the

"people living along the Narwia river" will be the subject of a separate study. It should be mentioned here, that because of the great pace of the transformations, taking place in the then countryside, the majority of the phenomena described by the author, were of a remnant character as early as in the between-war period, being today almost completely forgotten. Thus, the materials made accessible by Stanisław Dworakowski, are nowadays of a unique value, indeed. From this point of view, the systematic description of annual customs and rites, presented in four cycles, referring to the four seasons of the year, as well as of those dealing with husbandry, i.e. connected with agriculture, life-stock breeding, fishing, hunting, and, finally, with household and its occupations is astonishingly rich and accurate with regard to the carried out explorations. The constant care of the author the location of the described phenomena and accuracy of information increases the impression of scientific solicitude. Names of places where a given phenomenon had been appearing, were placed in the book within the squared brackets. If a given phenomenon had been of a general character, the abbreviation (gen. was put within the brackets.) It should be also mentioned that lack of the list of the explored places makes impossible any checking of the data or finding of further correlation between them. The broad list of the informers with data referring to their age and place of inhabitation solves the problem only partially. The recognition is due to the author for his attempt of presenting cartographically the scope of the examines problems, as for instance, that of an Easter custom of the "play with eggs" (p. 87) or of the Whitsuntide custom of walking around the fields with the so-called "queen". (p. 103) The remaining maps (unfortunately not enumerated in the table of contents) are printed in the pages: 89, 112, 139 and

the Polish Historians, in Warsaw, the 13th-15th September, 1963: „Historia Kultury Średniowiecznej w Polsce”, vol. II, Warsaw, 1964, pp. 26— and 255.

176. A map, printed out the text (unfortunately not synchronized with the actual state of the afforestation) gives a general picture of the boundaries of the north-eastern Masovia.

As the author admits himself, the considerable part of his materials derives from the territory of the High-Masovian district, within its pre-war borders, running along the left bank of the Narwia river. "The Masovian" departure point in the author's studies resulted in the fact, that generally speaking, only Ruthenian influences in the territory under consideration were registered by S. Dworakowski. He was unable to single out the reverse processes, taking place in the territory only touched with estimative examinations. It seems, however, that apart from the author's explanations, no greater objections could be made to him in this respect. In every pioneer-exploration, something is to be left to the next explorers not speaking to the opportunities, which should be left to critics.

Some doubts, however, can arise with regard to the author's approach to some requirements, which are obligatory in the historical method of work. The rôle as well as the place of ethnography, in their nowadays understanding belong to history, in a wide comprehension of the latter. Even the title of the study causes some doubts: — "Social culture of the rural population...". At first sight one could assume that it refers to the peasant population. But even a superficial analysis of the settlement-process in the territories under consideration reveals that we have to do with a relatively late (the 14th — the 16th cents.) colonisation, mostly from the part of small gentry, originating from the western areas of the province of Masovia. (to compare only the map, enclosed with the paper by J. Wiśniewski: "The development of the settlement in the Polish-Ruthenian-Lithuanian boundaries, in the period from the close of the 14th

till the fifties of the 17th centuries. „Acta Baltica-Slavica", vol. 1, (1964, p. 117) Even the author, himself, — though without drawing any conclusions from the fact — also refers to the occurrence of small gentry in this region. It should be said, that the answer to the question: whether, and if so, to what extend the rites and beliefs of this section of the population were coinciding with the analogous phenomena, typical of the proper peasant population is of capital importance for further examinations of the typical Polish phenomenon, namely of the existence of a strongly generative, small and often almost homestead gentry. Could the ages-lasting process of its pauperisation result, too, in the adoption by the latter of peasant customs? Or, maybe, the cultural phenomena, possible to be singled out today, resulted from the mutual interlacing of two types of culture: that typical of countryhouses and that of peasant huts? Such a conclusion seems to be probable because of the fact that both types of culture originated from the same root, dating back to the pre-state and pre-class period.

Secondly, the author ignores the fact that the described territory experienced the colonisation from the part of the most various elements, undermining by it the leading thought of the book that "eastern Masovia, as a territory lying out of the way, far from the state-centre of the Piasts' Poland, was the most and the longest reluctant to the new religion and influences of the rites of the Christian Church.. The best proof of it constitutes the pagan revolt which broke out after the death of Mieszko II. An exceptional vitality of the pagan remains was to result from the above mentioned circumstances, subjected to the author's analysis. (p. 14) The thesis that small gentry, despite its all, known conservatism, was propagating the above mentioned tendencies should be proved, first. Of course, the answer to the que-

stion is, to a great extent, conditioned by the approach to the origin of this section of population. Were they — as recently suggests A. Geysztor — “the former free, liberated for the duty of military service from other duties, or — as the author of this critique supposes — were they the descendants of the Masovian knights, settled down in the eastern boundary territories, too numerous and, in consequence, pauperized in the exceptionally difficult settlement conditions? (Compare the discussion on the subject by S. Russocki — The Masovian region in the mediaeval Poland, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 1963, s. 3) The local, gentry “family clans” or “tribes”, appearing as late as in the 14th and the 15th centuries because of the specific, local conditions, and, for a longer period of time, considered — on the basis of the theory of evolution as classical relicts of the “Family-tribal” period (compare in this respect — Masovian “Clan-families”, by S. Russocki, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 1961, s. 1, as well as the polemic with such an approach in the — “Gentrism” or Feudalism by K. Tymieniecki, as above, s. 3) constituted only an apparent anachronism with regard to the forms of social organisation.

One should admit, however, that the author's approach to the elements of peasant culture is that with fairly rich and old traditions. Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski, a pioneer of both Polish archaeology and ethnography in his short study written over one hundred years ago, (1818) and entitled “About Slaves before Christianity”, expressed the opinion that “we should go to most distant localities and lower ourselves entering into peasant huts, hurrying to peasant feasts and ceremonies, and different adventures. That is where in the smokes soaring over, ancient rites are still spinning, old songs are being hummed and names of the forgotten dieties are still echoing among gambols of populacy.

“After years, it appeared, however, that the popular in the period of Romanticism belief in the primitiveness of peasant culture had been but a great illusion. As it had been stated by the recently deceased J. Bystroń, the outstanding Polish ethnographer as well as connoisseur of the history of culture — “something has, of course, remained from the ancient pagan culture; very little, however, and what more, deformed throughout the ages.” (Sociology, 1947) Then, before considering a given symptom of the culture of the Masovian boundary territory to be a relict, one should, at least examine whether, and if so, in what form this symptom appeared in the primary settlements of its makers (western Masovia), where the remaining population could identify itself with greater probability, with the real, autochthonal origin.

As a historian and explorer, I have presented a handful of doubts and questions, being similarly to the author, fascinated with the history of the Masovian province, which, if it is not an ethnological “Polish Australia”, at least, it constitutes an exceptionally attractive area with regard to the origins, development and interlacing of different cultures. Let us hope that the second part of the “Social Culture” will elucidate the majority of problems, presented in this article. A great recognition is due to the author for the accomplishment of his study, despite both great and small difficulties which were not spared to him by our most recent history. Wide circles of the readers also owe their gratitude to the Białystok Scientific Society for the undertaking of the risk to publish a work with which, as S. Dworakowski writes himself, it was not easy to attract, and which, against all appearances, is of great actual value. Building up the foundations of the new, Polish culture, we, once and again, ask ourselves what really constitutes our strongest links with “yester-

day" and with the "day before yesterday". The answer to that question seems to be not so difficult.

"The created by the nation inheritance, with changeability of its components and different methods of consolidation of its expression, constitutes one of the basic elements of the picture of its own value. Our epoch turned towards the construction of great social changes also makes a choice as far as this inheritance is concerned. Science, crystallizing among modern societies historical conscience should also help our epoch in this task..." (A. Geysztor — Social bases and ideological aspects in the culture of the earlier Polish Middle-Ages, History of the mediaeval culture in Poland, Vol. II, Warsaw, 1965). The study by S. Dworakowski certainly constitutes an important contribution to the picture of both sources and development of Polish culture, taken as a whole.

Stanisław Russocki

*Estonskaja narodnaja odiežda XIX i načala XX wieka* (The Estonian national folk-costums in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century), Tallinn 1960, 243 pp., CXXI plates, 2 panels, 381 illustrations of the text. Worked out by the Editorial Committee: H. A. Moora (the editor in chief). Published by the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Ethnography, the development of which has been closely connected in Estonia with the formation of the young Estonian state, played an important role with regard to the crystallization of the national conscience of Estonians at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The peasant population, which had been subjected to foreign rule in a period covering seven hundred years detected its national history from the cultural achievements. The awareness of these achievements became an ideological weapon of the young Estonian

intelligentsia in its manifestation of national values against the German culture, represented by landowners and burghers on the one hand, and against the tsarist-regime on the other.

The general interest taken in the peasant life by the learned section of the Estonian population has been best reflected by the Voluminous collections amassed at the Estonian National Museum (Esti Rahva Muuseum), which was set up in 1909. The ethnographic relics prevail among them, being in majority these of weaving and folk-costumes.

On the basis of the above mentioned voluminous material the Estonian folk-costumes have been, at last, worked out, from a scientific point of view, in the between-war period<sup>1</sup>. These studies are being vigorously continued on the basis of the principles of the Marxian methodology. Thus, the peasant-costumes have been analysed — apart from the rather modest territorial material — also in the articles synthetic in their character, within the frames of general problems of the Estonian culture<sup>2</sup>.

However, the study "*Estonskaja narodnaja odiežda XIX i načala XX wieka*" — "The Estonian national folk-costumes in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century" constitutes the first complete and in the same time detailed review of the problems as well as of the materials concerning the history of the folk-costumes in an approach from the broad aspect of the chronological data.

<sup>1</sup> The work by I. Manninen, „Esti rahvarilete ajalugu, Eesti Rahva Muuseumi Aastaraamat III, Tartu, 1927, constitutes the most interesting publication.

<sup>2</sup> The materials attained during the territorial explorations are published in the materials of the „Baltijskoj etnografo-antropologičeskoj ekspedicii (1952 god)“, Moskva, 1954. Trudy Inst. im. M. M. Novaja seria, t. XXIII. — A. M. Moora analyses the theoretical problems connected with the Estonian folk-costumes in his article: O istoriko-etnografičeskich obščastjach Estonii in the: „Voprosy etničeskoj istorii estonskogo naroda“ Tallin, 1956.

The editorial group decided to fulfil two tasks: "... to acquaint broad sections of the population with the rich collections of the folk-costumes which are amassed at the Ethnographical Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic...", and "... to provide suitable indications first of all for the right choice of costumes of this type by the amateurish artistic ensembles..." Apart from the descriptions and iconographic materials provided by the archives of the Museum, the museum-exhibits constituted an essential basis for the accomplishment of the above mentioned tasks. The literature was cited in this respect on a rather limited scale.

The following form of work was adopted: After the introductory article by H. A. Moor a: "From the history of the development of the Estonian folk-costumes", L. B. Trees-Saks describes the folk-costumes typical of the Northern Estonia, A. A. Voolmaa, T. J. Võti and E. K. Lõoke depicts the ancient folk-costumes of the Northern as well as Western Estonia, and, finally, T. M. Habicht, A. A. Voolmaa and T. J. Võti analyses the Saaremaa, Hiiumaa and Muhu islands.

Next comes the chapter: "On the nowadays application of folk-costumes and their ornamentation"; then comes an extensive part, dealing with the technical methods of the preparation of folk-costumes, which was worked out by a group of authors. The whole study contains 381 illustrations of the text, 121 tables, including 78 coloured, which represent the drawings of persons in folk-costumes deriving from different regions, some details of their ornamentation, weaving-structure, composition of colours as well as patterns. Special sheets with embroidery designs were also enclosed with the study. Thus, it can be stated with no reservations, that the study under consideration represents the whole technical knowledge with

regard to tissues, cuts, colours and ornamentation of the ancient folk-costumes deriving from the most representative regions of the whole Estonia.

The examination of the study under consideration from the angle of its scientific values reveals that its rich and detailed materials result in no new conclusions or hypothesis. On the contrary, the scientific assumptions and hypothesis, which have been adopted by the Estonian science and which are mentioned at the beginning of the study, were assumed as a general explanatory background for the detailed material, presented in further chapters. This is just the role of the introductory article by H. A. Moor a. The author acquaints the reader with the genesis, history and territorial domain of particular groups of folk-costumes as well as with general data of their most specific regional features. According to the author, folk-costumes reflect — as well as other fields of the material culture — the precise character of the culture of a given nation, and constitute an important historical source owing to ancient elements, preserved in them. The Estonian folk-costumes can be divided into four basic groups: the southern, the northern, the western and the eastern. This territorial division generally corresponds with the vernaculars of the Estonian language and folklore, as well as with the extension of archaeological cultures in the period covering the first centuries of our era. This fact results in an important conclusion which has been adopted by the authors of the further chapters of the study as an essential basis, namely that the beginnings of the differentiation in the Estonian folk-costumes should be sought as early as in the period of the family-tribal social structure and not in the later administrative divisions made successively by the invaders. The Estonian folk-costumes contain a number of common features, which give evidence of close contacts



with the Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ruthenian populations. In the Saaremaa and Hiiumaa islands considerable Swedish influences can be noted.

The author analyses, in turn, the social role of the folk-costumes, and stresses their connections with the rites, beliefs and magical practices. First of all, however, the folk-costume used to be an expression of both the social standing and wealth of a given person, being, too, in the period of serfdom a means of the manifestation of national separatism from the German feudals.

The ancient folk-costumes were created by the separate, self-sufficient rural population, and their quick disappearance can be noted parallelly to the development of the capitalistic relations. The author starts his historical outline of the Estonian folk-costumes with the beginnings of the second millennium of our era. The analysis of the earlier periods is based on the excavation-materials. The first written and iconographic sources derive from the period not earlier than the close of the 17th and the 18th centuries.

The following parts constituted a complete feminine folk-costume of the 11th — the 13th centuries: a linen shirt with long sleeves, a long, woolen garment pulled over the head, with no sleeves and cut similarly to a poncho, being sometimes replaced by a sort of a non-sewed together skirt, with both ends stuck under the belt on both sides of hips, and belted with a belt or ribbon (the woolen ribbon was called "umbrik" and the linen-one — "pallapool"). An apron or a piece of a long and ornamented linen, stuck over the belt covering the hips, used to be wear over the skirt. Bronze chains, called "rõhud" were often fixed to the belt, falling downwards on the hips. The arms were covered with a thick, woolen, rectangular and richly adorned piece of tissue, called "sõba". A similar, linen piece was called "kaal" or "palakas". A front-head-

dress was a head covering typical of maidens while married women wore white linen canvas gathered at the back of the head, with ends falling down at the back. Such a head-covering was called "linik". The above mentioned shirt, skirt, "umbrik" and the back covering "sõba"—have their-corresponding parts in the ancient folk-costumes of other Baltic peoples. The linen hip-coverings were worn, too, by the finno-ugric peoples, while the "linik" was known among the neighbouring Baltic peoples as well as eastern-slavic ones. (For instance the Byelorussian "namitka"). The Estonian folk-costumes used to be richly adorned already in the early Middle-Ages. They were usually adorned with bronze chains made of rings and spirals, with brooches, bracelets, rings and glass beads. Bronze chains and spirals permit to notice certain regional differences, for instance, between the islands and the proper land of the country.

No archaeological data exist with regard to male-costumes of the period. The author assumes that a male folk-costume was composed of a linen shirt a pair of trousers, a woolen, knee-long jacket and of shoes made of leather or twisted of bast. The following elements of the garment have been found in a boy-burial, dating from the 13th century: a woolen poncho belt-belted, a breast-pendant made of coins and also different bronze ornaments. The data concerning the folk-costumes of the period covering the 13th- the 17th centuries are, too, extremely poor, being based exclusively on a few archaeological finds. The most noticeable changes occurred in the period, with regard to the adornment of folk-costumes. Beginning with the 15th century the bronze ornaments start to disappear little by little being replaced by lead or silver trimmings (big, silver brooches — "sõlg" becoming particularly popular), as well as by coloured embroideries. More essential

changes in the basic elements of the folk-costumes can be noticed not earlier than towards the close of the 17th century. In this period the non-sewed together skirt "umbrik" was replaced by a sewed-together and uniform in colour one. In Northern Estonia, a short, above-waist and broad-sleeved blouse began to be worn over a sleeveless shirt. It was called "käised". The Estonian peasants, presented on the first drawings, dating from the 17th century, wore knee-long jackets, belted with ribbons, high felt-hats and knee-high boots.

On the basis of the almost uniform for the whole Estonia nomenclature of the ancient elements of garments, the author assumes that folk-costumes did not vary very much, as far as the periods under consideration are concerned. The more essential differences, increasing in the course of the 18th century can be observed not earlier than in its second part.

The 18th century, which was marked in Estonia with an enormous increase of the commodity-economy, constituted, too, a crucial period in the history of the folk-costumes. The numerous descriptions as well as drawings of the period permit to assume that the folk-costumes in Northern Estonia were marked with numerous novelties. Apart from the blouse, the popularity of which increased as early as in the 17th century ("käised"), the vertically-striped skirts as well as bonnets of various forms began to be common in the fifties of the 18th century. Bonnets of married women were pot-shaped, and called "pottmüts". Their forms as well as ornaments reveal urban origin. The vegetal ornament becomes, too, a novelty in the Estonian folk-costumes, and is characterized by a motive of the two-bell flower. A somewhat changed vegetal ornament becomes popular a little later in the central part of Western Estonia as well as in the Saaremaa island. As far as the southern and south-western Estonia was concern-

ed, the 18th century was not marked with such essential changes. The annex of Estonia to Russia and closer contacts with Ruthenian population were reflected by some changes in the ornamentation. The older, white embroidery was replaced with red one. Woven embroidery also became popular. The outer garment: jackets and long russet coats were, similarly to the Latvian custom, adorned with trimmings of coloured cord. Silver cone-shaped brooches (sõlg) or flat-ones (prees), coin-necklaces and hip-chains ("rõhud") were the most typical metal ornaments of the period.

The first half of the 19th century is marked with further changes in garment. The striped skirt, typical of the 18th century in the northern part of the country becomes popular in the whole Estonia, becoming also the fashion in the islands, in the sixties. Moreover the complete folk-costume becomes more varied as far as its outer parts are concerned: women begin to wear bodices (the southern and western regions) as well as waist-long jerkins, men - waist-coats and coats. Their cut varied considerably depending from the region. The new types of folk-costumes were usually dark-blue-dyed, with rare exceptions in this respect. This colour, typical of the outer parts of folk-costume became popular first in the north, comprising also the northern part of the southern region. The old elements of the folk-costume, as for instance, "umbrik", "sõba" "linik" and others disappeared in proportion to the appearance of the new ones. Little by little folk-costumes adopted ever more urban elements (cotton jerkins, tweed-like costumes and the like), and its folk character vanished out completely towards the end of the 19th century.

The following method was observed with regard to the descriptions of the folk-garment of the four, essential regions of Estonia, which are published

after the introductory article: the territorial definition, a short, historical outline of the administrative region, the numeration of main sub-groups of the folk-costumes, the description of feminine folk-costume, (the general characteristic features, shirts, skirts, aprons, hip-coverings, belts, jerkins, bodices, sheepskins, back-coverings, head-dresses, stockings, shoes, socks, gloves), the description of male folk-costume (shirts, trousers, jackets, jerkins, belts, head-coverings, stockings and shoes). After the general analysis of a given region taken as a whole come the descriptions of the sub-regions, and, finally, a very precised documentation of different complete folk-costumes in the chronological order of their appearance. The authors endeavours, in every case, to give a full picture of historical changes, to which the folk-costumes were subjected in a given region, in the period from the close of the 18th till the end of the first half of the 19th century. They signalize, in the same time, the differences resulting from the division of the rural population. The authors also draws the attention to the ritual aspect and its connection with the survival of some archaic elements in the folk-costume. The presented material is too extensive to be more precisely described in this article.

Generally it can be stated that the folk-costume of the Northern Estonian group was the most uniform. Only the "kihelkonds" of Jõhvi and Iisaku, owing to the Ruthenian influence, were different to a considerable extend. The Southern Estonian group, and particularly its southern part (the Halliste region), has preserved the greatest number of the archaic elements. The Latvian influence can be also noted in this respect (the white colour of the upper parts of garment, and cord-adornments). In the eastern kihelkonds: in Kõdavere, Vastselijna, and first of all in the Orthodox group of the population, —

Setu, the Ruthenian influence prevails. The western region is extremely differentiated. It comprises the former Läänemaa i Pärnumaa, its northern part being under the north-Estonian influence (the dark-blue colour of the upper parts of garment); it, too, adopted some Swedish features (kihelkond Naarotsi), and in the southern part the Southern-Estonian influence as well as that of Latvia (natural light colour or dark-dyed upper parts of garment and cord-trimmings) can be noticed. The vertically-striped skirts appeared earlier in the Western Estonia than in its southern part. The vegetal ornament, completely unknown in the southern part, occurred, too, in this region. Kihelkonds in the Saaremaa, Hiiumaa and Muhu islands greatly varied with regard to folk-costumes. The differences were so strong in this respect that the authors were unable to mention any specific, common feature. Dark, pleated skirts, adorn in the lower part with a broad coloured brim were typical of the Saaremaa island at the beginning of the 19th century. A bead-adorned pocket was fixed to the belt, being used to carry needles, a knife and a hair-bross. The head-dresses were most different. High bonnets, covering the front part of head, and fixed on a cardboard base, richly embroidered with ornaments vegetal or geometrical in motives were the most typical. The population of the Muhu island adorned its folk-costumes, and particularly shirts, aprons, skirts, head-dresses as well as knitted gloves and socks with a specific ornament, called "määnd". It was composed of the eight-prong stars inserted into octagonal designs. The Hiiumaa island populated not earlier than in the 12th century by the settlers from Saaremaa, has a number of common features with the Muhu island. The type of blouse, called "käised" had been brought here from Northern Estonia, but used to be adorned with a different type of embroidery,

geometrical in designs. A great variety of the head-dresses also occurred, including the form of the ancient "linik". The male folk-costume has been worked out by the authors of the study under consideration on a narrower scale and provides no interesting material for a historical synthesis, as it is the case with the feminine folk-costume. Being less showy than the latter and less connected with the ritual aspect of life, it became much more quickly influenced by town-garments. In the almost whole Estonian territory (excluding the eastern regions) it was composed of the following parts: a special shirt, a pair of trousers ending a little below the knees, often a waistcoat, always a jerkin and a long, russet coat, a felt-hat, knitted knee-long socks, hast foot-wear, leather slippers or shoes. The regional differences occurred mainly with regard to the colour, cut and adornment of the costume.

The chapter dealing with the technical preparation of folk-costumes constitutes a valuable supplement to the above mentioned descriptions of folk-costumes. It covers the following problems: the history of ancient weaving, weaving technics and structures, whitening of linen and cloth-fulling, costume sewing and technics of the cut, intertwisting of folk-ribbons and bands fringe-making, drawn-working, lace-making and embroidery-technics, finally kneeting. The part of the material dealing with the preparation of folk-costumes is of particular interest owing to some information concerning the rôle of the professional artisans, which is included together with the descriptions. It appears that the upper garments were made by peasant, pedlar-tailors or town-tailors as early as from the beginning of the second half of the 18th century.

In Northern Estonia bonnets and blouses "käised" used to be embroidered by town-embroiderers, which was closely

connected with the propagation of vegetal ornaments in the region.

The historical approach to all the problems the study deals with, constitutes its great value. We can only envy the excellently prepared chronological data with regard to the appearance or disappearance of particular elements of folk-costumes. The precise description of the history of forms does not give, however, a full picture of the real situation. Lack of, at least, some general data on the economic history of Estonia makes itself felt. The definitions "the development of capitalism", "the development of both barter and money economy" and the like, are too laconic, to be able to explain the complexity of social changes, taking place in the course of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in the Estonian countryside, as well as their connections with changes occurring in the folk-costumes. Thus the following questions occur: Why the new elements of the folk-costumes became common most early just in Northern Estonia? What was the rôle of the town-centres? (Of which?) No one is mentioned in the study. To what extent they constituted the centres of artisan services for the neighbouring villages? Were mansion-workers also connected to a certain extent with production catering to the villages? For instance, the problem by whom were made metal ornaments, silver brooches and chains, which are of unusual beauty and give evidence of great skill bordering with art, remains unsolved.

The most important groups of folk-costumes generally correspond to the essential ethnographical regions of Estonia. The confirmation of this fact constitutes a fairly great achievement of Estonian scientists. The hypothesis built up on this basis, that the beginnings of the differentiation of folk-costumes should be sought in the primordial tribal divisions, seems to be most probable. It is, difficult, however, to find its con-

firmation in the 19th century-material. The most important elements forming the differences among different groups of folk-costumes appeared much more later. A. H. Moor a defines the problem of the durability of the ethnographical regions of Estonia in a following way: "Such concrete elements of the material culture as buildings, dresses, the implements of work and the like were subjected to a process of considerable changes in the course of long centuries. It is characteristic however, that numerous, new and later appearing phenomena spread not in a whatever part of the Estonian territory, but generally took place within the frames of the known cultural regions which were connected with a common, old tradition. It resulted in the astonishingly old, ages-lasting ethnographical regions."<sup>3</sup> The lessening of the role of the administrative divisions of Estonia, does not seem, however, rightful. These divisions, as it has been already stressed, must not always result in the divisions into cultural regions. In our case, however,

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Moor a, About the historical — ethnographical... — Ob istoriko-etnograficeskich...

the frontier between the Estland and Livonia, which corresponds to the later frontier between the respective governments played, undoubtedly an enormous role in the preservation of the northern and southern groups<sup>4</sup>, designing the sub-regions as far as the western group was concerned. A question makes itself felt, namely whether the feudal land-division into land-estates could, in a way, influence the differences among particular kihelkonds with regard to folk-costumes.

Apart from the above mentioned remarks, which are connected with some problems of the mechanism of changes, the study under consideration constitutes an excellent example of a thoroughful analysis of the material, which is specially valuable for the museum-workers, being an example of a reasonable, scientific documentation of relics.

J. Maciejewska

<sup>4</sup> I. Manninen stresses the fact the southern sphere of the appearance of the blouse „käised”, of bonnets of the type „pottmüts” as well as of the vegetal ornaments was closely connected with the frontier between the governments of Estland and Livonia.



## CHRONICLE — CHRONIQUE

### THE 2<sup>nd</sup> INTERNATIONAL FINNO-UGRIAN CONGRESS IN HELSINKI (23<sup>rd</sup>—28<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1965)

The studies of history, languages and cultures of the peoples and nations belonging to the Finno-Ugrian group, have started over one hundred years ago and developed and improved their methods achieving such a degree of specialization that the branch of science covering these integrated phenomena got its grounded name — the Finno-Ugrian studies. The studies as well as explorations in the Finno-Ugrian field have been, of course, centralized mainly in three European countries: Finland, Russia (*Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics*) and Hungary. The inquiries into Finno-Ugrian problems in other countries, including Poland, are usually connected with general linguistic as well as historical theories, or with problems of common contacts or influences between the Finno-Ugrian peoples and these neighbouring with them, or those more distant, too. The great, historical merits in this respect has the Finno-Ugrian Society in Helsinki (*Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran*) set up 82 years ago and academic in its character, which rallies the first-rate explorers in the field of all interested countries. Such eminent Polish scientists as Jan Baudouin de Courtenay and Jan Czekanowski were among its former foreign members; in 1962, Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, Jerzy Kuryłowicz and Maria Znamierowska-

Prüfferowa were appointed its honorary members-correspondents.

The decision was adopted, during the great celebration of the jubilee of the 75 anniversary of the Finno-Ugrian Society, to permanently organize the International Finno-Ugrian Congresses, initiated by the First Congress, which was held in Budapest, in 1962. Helsinki was chosen as the seat of the 2nd Congress. The 3rd Congress is to be held in Moscow, in 1968. In this way, the important possibilities have been created for the most valuable co-operation and most necessary personal contacts of Finno-Ugrists, which certainly will stimulate and speed up the pace of the development of the Finno-Ugrian studies.

At the 2nd Finno-Ugrian Congress Poland was represented by: Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, Jan Reychman and Maria Znamierowska-Prüfferowa. Prof. J. Reychman published the interesting remarks with regard to the Linguistic and Historical Sections in "Problemy" (no. 11, Warsaw 1965, pp. 693—695). The results of the deliberations of the Ethnographic Section are to be presented by prof. M. Prüfferowa; Thus, it remained to me to deal first of all, with the Archaeological Section then with the reports on the extremely advanced studies, as well as monographs and synthesis accomplished in the Finno-Ugrian countries.

First of all I shall take the liberty of presenting a short review of the achievements in the archaeological field in Finland<sup>1</sup>, particularly in view of the fact that being also a guest of the National Finnish Museum in Helsinki, I had the possibility to be directly acquainted with the Exhibition section as well

also, the clearly seen by him, necessity of the extension of the territorial examinations far beyond the frontiers of his own fatherland. He was successful in attracting with this work scientists of its own age as well as those belonging to the younger generation. Thanks to his activity a catalogue of the remains, da-



Prof. dr. Paavo Ravila



Prof. dr. Kustaa Vilkuna

as with rich collections, amassed thanks to the effort of all the Finnish archaeologists, in the period covering over one hundred years. I do not aspire, of course, to make a short characteristic of the development of this branch of science. I wish, however, to point out the basic stages of its development, which are connected with the names of the most eminent Finnish scientists.

Strong foundations were laid for this new branch of science by a great patriot and scientist, M. A. Castren. His programme comprising the knowledge of the ancient culture of all the Finno-Ugrian peoples, which has been fulfilled on an ever wider scale included

ting from the Stone and Bronze ages was published in 1863, in which the system of the division of the ancient culture into three basic epochs was taken into consideration, as an innovation, by the custodian H. J. Holmberg. The highest scientific level of the period was achieved by J. Aspelin, who — as far as it was possible — took into consideration in his explorations the north-european as well as north-western Asian countries. His study *Muinaisjaannoksia Suomen suvum asuma-aloitta* (*Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*) became a mile-stone in the Finno-Ugrian explorations. Shortly after that, in 1875, Aspelin also published a methodical basis for the Finno-Ugrian studies (*Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita*). The first synthesis of the Finnish archaeology, entitled *Suomen asukkaat pakanuuden aikana* (*The inhabi-*

<sup>1</sup> A. M. Tallgren, *Geschichte der antiquarischen Forschung in Finnland*, „Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua“ X, Helsinki 1936, p. 199; Ella Kivikoski, *Finnlands Förhistoria*, Helsingfors 1964.



*tants of Finland in the pagan times*) was published by him in 1885. Aspelin also set-up the office of the state antiquarian of monuments as well as both the chair and the workshop of the Finno-Ugrian antiquities at the Helsinki university (1878—1885). J. Ailio, the author of the first atlas of the archaeology in Finland as well as of the pioneer-monography: *Die steinzeitlichen Wohnplatzfunde in Finnland* (Helsinki 1909) became the junior lecturer of the above mentioned post. The chair of the Finnish and Nordic archaeology was set up at the university in 1920; The unusual man and eminent scholar, A. M. Tallgren was entrusted with it. He was a most talented man with broad, scientific horizons, which enabled him to publish several hundreds of works, embracing the cultural problems of all the ancient periods not only in the Finno-Ugrian countries, but, too, of both Eastern Europe and the Caucasus<sup>2</sup>.

H. Appelgren-Kivalo, the specialist of the Iron Age took over, after Aspelin, the management as well as care over examinations of archaeological remains. He was replaced, in turn, by A. Hackman, the author of the excellent monograph *Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland* (Helsinki 1905). He was succeeded by the best specialist of the Stone Age in Eastern Europe, and later the younger lecturer and professor of the university, A. Äyräpää. Among his works the following were decisive to a certain extent: *Über die Streitaxkulturen in Russland* ("Eurasia Sept. Ant.", vol. VIII, 1933) *Von den ältesten Niederlassungen in Finnland*, together with M. Saraumo, ("Sitzungsberichte der Finnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften", 1947) and *Die relative Chronologie der steinzeitlichen Keramik in Finnland* ("Acta Archaeologica" vol. I, 1930). A. C. Nordman, a great expert in

both the neolithic and early-mediaeval cultures of Northern Europe and also an excellent expert in numismatics as well as a historian of Fine Arts, was for many years the head of the Finnish National Museum. The museum at Turku (Åbo) was directed by the younger lecturer Nils Cleve, who, too, was a specialist as well as the organizer of the excellent inventories and cartographies of monuments. The university Chair which vacated after the too early deceased Prof. A. M. Tallgren was taken over by his brilliant pupil and the authoress of the monumental, two-volume monograph *Die Eisenzeit Finnlands* Ella Kivikoski (Porvo, 1947—1951). The younger generation of the Finnish archaeologists grew up in a nice and stimulating scientific work atmosphere at the university and the museum. The following names should be mentioned in this respect: C. F. Meinander, who became famous with his first-rate work *Die Bronzezeit in Finnland* ("Finnougrische Forschungen", vol. 54, 1954), V. Luho, the explorer of the Finnish neolith and the deceased J. Leppäaho, a pupil of E. Kivikoski.

The meetings as well as publications of the "Finnish Archaeological Society" contributed to the intensification of this scientific atmosphere. In 1928 I was honoured to be nominated its honorary member-correspondent. The following publications are worth of attention: *Suomen Museo, Finskt Museum and Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja* (*Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*), each consisting of an over-60-volume series, excellently edited and illustrated, which is of such an importance for the archaeological publications.

This was a bird's eye view on the founders of the heretofore development and level of the archaeology in Finland. The chronological data assembled by Professor E. Kivikoski reflect the extend to which the opinions on the time-frames of the most ancient as well

<sup>2</sup> Ella Kivikoski, A. M. Tallgren, "Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua", Suppl. Vol. 1954, pp. 78—145.

as early-mediaeval culture in Finland have changed in the course of the last fifty years. They are the following:

- I. The Stone-Age:
- A. Mesolith: 1. The Askola culture. 2. The Suomusjärvi culture. By 6500—3000 before our era.
- B. Neolith: 1. Cultures with comb-indent ed pottery:  
The early ones. By 3000—2300 before our era.  
The typical ones. By 2300—2000 before our era.  
The late ones. By 2000—1800 before our era.  
Degenerated ones. By 2000—1800 before our era.
2. The culture with battle-axes By 1900—1600 before our era.
- II. The Bronze-Age:  
By 1300—500 before our era.
- III. The Iron-Age:
- A. The pre-Roman period: by 500—0 before our era.
- B. The Roman period: 1. The older one, by 1—200 of our era.  
2. The younger one, by 200—300 of our era.
- C. The Great Migration period: 1. The older one. By 400—550/600 of our era. 2. The younger one. By 550/600—1050 of our era.
- D. The Vikings period by 800—1050 of our era.
- E. The pre-state period by 1050—1150—1300 of our era.

Having at least, these short directive lines, we can more freely follow the problems and divigations of particular reports, presented at the Congress in both the chronological and cultural order of the discussed problems. Though the attention has been focused on the Finno-Ugrian problems, however, as it usually happens at international congresses — the subject matters did not produce any new frames or context of the development of the process, forming rather a mosaic-like combination, which is on the other hand, extremely valuable and, in some cases, inventive.

The last definition can undoubtedly refer to the results of the explorations made by L. Jaanits of Tallinn, which were presented in the report entitled: *Die frühneolithische Kultur in Estland*. The site containing pottery of Narva type has been discovered in Estonia; it is older than the typical comb-indent ed

pottery (Style II, according to Äyräpää) and which can be ascribed to the middle of the 3rd millennium before our era. The analogous pottery-types have been also discovered in Latvia. Rough bottoms and wide forms are characteristic of pottery of Narva type. Small bath-tube-like bowls also occur. This is a thick, lightly burnt pottery. Small arches indented with comb appear against this background. The slightly dashed surfaces are, however, the most often. Bone-made objects of neolithic types and originating from the Kunda manufactures occur together with pottery. The stone-ware are rare, and there is an almost complete lack of flint ware. The Narva-type pottery undoubtedly reveals some similarities with that of the Zedmar type as well as with some forms from the Dnieper basin. It can be assumed that the Narva-type culture belonged to one of the tribe of the Finno-Ugrian Baltic group.

V. Luho made an analysis of the: *Die kammkeramische Kultur und die finnisch-ugrische Frage*. He came to the conclusion that archaeological remains are unable by themselves to identify the ethnical group. Such an ascription can exclusively result from the conformity with the linguistic region in the territories with no greater ethnical changes. Thus, if the linguists' theory is right, namely, that the ancient cradle of the Finno-Ugrian peoples lay in the area among the Oka the Volga and the Kama rivers, then not all the strongly differing regional groups of the pit-comb pottery could belong to the Finno-Ugrian tribes in the enormously vast territory between the Ural and the Arctic Ocean north-eastwards till the territory on the Vistula river, westwards. The Finno-Ugrian cultures probably cristallized themselves on the mesolithic basis, and in different and independent groups. The fact that the neolithic cultures, examined with modern methods are known to us not in every part of the territory

belonging to the culture of the pit-and-comb-made pottery constitutes a serious problem. If, however, the chronological data as well as the linguistic cartography are correct, one can risk the statement, that the Finno-Ugrian pottery is in majority the pit-pottery of the central-Russian territories which spread from the Voïga and the Kama territories westwards up to the eastern Karelia, by 2500 before our era, and reached Finland up to the river Kymi as well as Estonia, by 2300 before our era. This type of pottery is almost unknown to us eastwards from the Ural.

The puzzle about the ancient-cradle of the Finno-Ugrian peoples is being still under examination. It was expressed by Gy. Laszlo in his report: *Über die Grundfragen der uralischen Urheimat*. The author advises in this respect his book: *Östörteneutük leegkorábbiszakaszai*, Budapest 1961 (*Früheste Perioden unserer Urgeschichte*). In his report he only deals with three problems. Oto Balint Zolyomi has revealed, on the basis of a deep analysis, that the belt of spruces and birches spread in the narrow territories up till the Ural. It was the only region where the migrations of Samoyeds and of Ugrian tribes from the Ob basin could take place towards the Ural, as far as the tajga did not constituted a barrier. This opinion of the author was criticized by Peter Hajdu from the linguistic point of view. The latter is of the opinion that it has been almost proven that the ancient fatherland in the Ural land, in the 6th—the 4th millenniums before our era, on the upper Peczora and the lower Ob. i.e. in the tajga, at both slopes of the Ural. Laszlo states, that it was not possible, because those regions were uninhabited in the period, and the remotest traces of inhabitation there date back to the neolith, that means to another period than that of the formation of the Ural ancient-cradle. The reporter considers the examination by A. Thoma of the

analysis of the indices of the "tardenois" skulls as that of a considerable importance. It appears from it that the ancient-European "tardenois" population had somatic features identical with Pre-Lapps. It was to invade the territories of the Świder-culture to change there its language into that of Ural.

With regard to the origin of the Finno-Ugrian peoples one should also follow the divigations of the anthropologists on the matter, namely these by K. Mark of Tallinn and by N. Tscheboksarow of Moscow: *Das Problem des Ursprungs der finnougri-schen Völker im Lichte der Ergebnisse der Anthropologie*. One can come to the conclusion that the differentiation of the Finno-Ugrian peoples took place in the neolith. Namely, the Mongoloids, migrating from Sybiris met the Europeids on both sides of the Ural at the outskirts of forests and steppe, who had invaded the tajga territory from the south. These blends resulted in the emergence of numerous variants of the Ural group, which exist among the Ugrian peoples of the Ob region: The Ostyaks, and the Voguls, the Udmurts, the Maris, the Komis and the Mordvinian-Moksla. The Lapps also belong to them, being probably the Paleo-asians, who adopted the Finnish language. The eastern blend mongolo-europeids constituted the source of the origin of the peoples in the territory from the Arctic Ocean to the Baltic, namely of the existing till today Komis, Vepsas, Karels, the Illyors, Vots, eastern Ests and, to a small extend, Finns. The western Ests and Finns have no mongoloid mixture. The Mordwinians-Moksha, to whom Pontian elements had also penetrated, gravitated, in turn, to them. On the margin of these hypotheses, and particularly of that by Gy. Laszlo — which personally for me is not convincing — I would like to advise to the readers the study by the illustrious scholar E. N.

Setälä: *Die Urgeschichte der Finnen. Ein Überblick*<sup>3</sup>, which should be born in mind also with regard to other reports.

The report by C. F. Meinander *Die Zusammensetzung des finnischen Volkes im Lichte der Archaeologie*, is in my opinion extremely pertinent. It is an almost general opinion that Finns invaded their present territories coming from Estonia in the first centuries of our era. They were to populate the whole country arriving from the south-western Finland. But it appears from the archaeological explorations that the interior of Finland was inhabited for many centuries before our era. Pottery with a mixture of asbestos is a typical cultural feature of the eastern and northern part of the country. The traces of other population, the types of both graves and pottery of which, that belonging to the so-called Morba cannot be traced up to Estonia are found on the sea-side. Cultures of the early Roman period also reveal features of the Estonian origin, with the exception of two cemeteries in Karias and in Nakkila, which remained under a strong Germanic influence, and which can be even connected with the colonization of this ethnical element. The cultural Estonian components make their way to the first layer not earlier than in the younger Roman period. From the two, above mentioned facts the reporter concludes that Finnish nation is composed of three components: of the newcomers of Estonia, of Germanic elements and of the primitive, local population which probably can be ascribed to the linguistic pre-Finnish community.

At the first as well as at the second Finno-Ugrian Congress much attention was devoted to the Hungarian problems. The Hungarian delegation not without a reason was in every respect, at the

second place after the Finnish hosts, I. Dienes wended where from results the phenomenon of the Magyars, who had invaded the Carpathian gien in the 11th century, and were able to create a strong feudal state in the period covering 2—3 generations, and succeeded in preservation of their own language and specific way of being despite the fact that they were surrounded by foreign peoples. From the careful analysis it appears not only that the Magyars constituted the narrow section of the masters who ruled their serfs, but, too, that their social organisation isolated them, to some extent, from the conquered peoples. The numerous discovered cemeteries have revealed fairly rich as well as extremely poor burials: those of masters and of their serfs. To be able to answer the above mentioned questions, the prelector referred to the analysis of the archaeological materials connected with Magyars, but from the period previous to the invasion of Hungary by them. Following this analysis he came to the conclusion that, as far as oriental peoples are concerned, the most numerous cultural links as well as the analogous courses of the process of feudalization are taking place in the territories lying along the middle Volga. That was where from the migration of Hungarians from among the Czeremises, Mordwins, Wojtaks and other tribes who had remained in place took place towards the areas on the Cisa and on the middle Danube. Then the stage of development as well as the adopted organisation of Hungarian population were a decisive factor of their specific adaptation to the new circumstances. The anthropologists face serious problems in this respect. T. Toth pointed out in his report: *Das Problem der Ethnogenese des Ungarums in der Zeit der Landnahme* that the Finno-Ugrian-Mongolian linguistic and cultural blending taking place in the Ural East are not confirmed by the anthropological material. No Mongolian

<sup>3</sup> Memoria Saecularis E. N. Setälä 27.II.1964, „Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne”, vol. 135, Helsinki 1964, pp. 88—93.

components have been revealed by the series of the systematically examined skeletons which have been excavated from the Magyar graves, dating from the 9th century as well as from the later period.

Passing from the ethnogenetic problems to those of the development of production, one should state with no exaggeration that the one-hour lecture with slides, by prof. H. Moora of Tallinn: *Zur älteren Geschichte des Bodenbaues bei den Esten und ihren Nachbarvölkern* made an unforgettable impression. His deeply substantiated analysis together with a first-rate composition of its contents is an example of a beautiful synthesis. And the task was by no means an easy one. The archaeology as well as the comparative linguistics, together with rare historical sources and ethnography were helpful for the solution of a number of puzzles. It is not possible to enter here into all the important details. I shall mention only that agriculture developed among the Baltic Finns in the period covering the second millenium before our era. The peoples belonging to the Finno-Ugrian silvan zone were acquainted with corns from the south: Corns were brought to the territories on the Volga and the Kama by peoples observing the grave-pit form of burial, to those on the upper Volga-by the population of the Fatianovo culture. Ests were influenced by the population with cord-pottery and battle axes, the bearers of which, in the H. Moora's opinion, were the Balts. Then the speaker gave the picture of the primitive and migratory post silvan husbandry, which persisted till the beginning of our era enabling the tillage of the small fields. The breeding of domestic animals prevailed in the period. The successive fairly sped-up and long-lasting development of field-cultivation was connected with the increase of the population. The settlements and cemeteries, as well as burials grew

in number. Only the western Esthonia was backward and lagging behind the rest of the countries and the islands with regard to the development of agriculture. This phenomenon undoubtedly resulted from the considerable differences with regard to the value of arable soil and silvan territories. The final change favouring the plough-tillage with the help of draft animals on vast fields, together with convertible husbandry with fields partly cultivated and partly laid fallow took place not earlier than in the 11th — the 13th centuries. The increase of the demographic relations and improvement of production were favourable for the feudalization of the country. H. Moora dealt more in detail with both the conditions and distribution of arable soil and, in connection with this, with the development of agricultural implements, and particularly of the plough, hoe and plough-share. The problem whether the tri-field husbandry had began in Esthonia as early as in the 13th century or whether the two-field one lasted there longer was of interest to him. In any case the speaker rejected the hypothesis that the tri-field convertible husbandry was introduced not earlier than by the German colonisation, and backed his point of view with fairly strong arguments. From the beginnings of the 14th century the development of the agricultural methods and those of the field convertibility had been a slow process in Esthonia. The "agrarian revolution" took place here not before the 19th century, which was connected with the convertible husbandry, new breeding cultures, the introduction of the agricultural machinery as well as with the scientific agro-technical methods.

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The organization of the 2nd congress was mostly satisfactory, indeed. A short summary was prepared in a separate, printed booklet. The time-

table was distributed among the participants in advance. In one building, in the easy-to be-found halls, there were installed the buffet and the smoking-room. There was only a shortage of time for discussions — the usual thing at all the great international congresses now. The organizing committee forgot no smallest detail aiming at the comfort and advantage of the participants in the Congress. Thus, the words of gratitude were expressed to prof. P. Raviola, the president, to the vice-president prof. K. Viikuna as well to the secretary general, prof. T. Vuorela. The wide mutual contacts constituted a great facilitation during all the official banquets and meetings. A particularly agreeable and cordial party was arranged for the archaeologists by prof. Ella Kivikoski. Owing to the atmosphere of friendship and sincerity the evening lasted till past midnight. I was presented by prof. Ella Kivikoski with her synthesis of the ancient and early-mediaeval times, which has been recently published in Swedish language. It is an excellent, beautifully illustrated book, entitled *Finnlands forhistoria* (Helsingfors, H. Schildts Forlag, 1964, 318 pp., 244 illustrations and 1 map.). The authoress as well as the Finnish archaeology can be proved of it. I was also presented with a beautiful atlas *Spät-eisenzeitliche Waffen aus Finnland, Schwertinschriften und Waffenverzierungen des 9—12 Jahrhunderts* worked out by Jorma Leppäaho. Both work are worth of a wide, separate analysis.

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Jyväskylä is a neat, university town. As it is the oldest Finnish higher school. Some buildings date back to the 18th century, the others are fairly modern, designed by the most outstanding Finnish architect A. Aalto, who is in the first rank of the world-famous architects. We have unforgettable memories of the lecture-halls, laboratories and the

university library. It is, undoubtedly, one of the best university centres in northern Europe, and what more, situated in a rich forest-setting, with comfortable very well equiped and pleasantly scattered buildings. The regional, small museum has been located, in a beautiful building, too, also designed by A. Aalto. Its archaeological, ethnographical and historical collections are arranged in a modern and most aesthetic way. One more glance at the unusual, lake-dotted and green hill-marked landscape from the high water-tower, then, in the evening, a great and mostly attractive banquet, followed, with a night flight back to Helsinki.

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The archaeological excursion was both designed and guided by the Doc. Dr C. F. Meinander. The motor-coach took as westwards on a highway-trip. We visited the last frontal moraine Saupasselka, situated among deep forests and wilderness. We were acquainted with the rock-pictures representing the images of the neolithic game. We were at the place of the settlement of the culture of the comb-indented pottery. We saw the stone barrows dating from the Bronze and Iron Ages, usually located on hills with a beautiful panorama on the lakes. We twice climbed up the early-mediaeval earthwork located on the protruding rocks where from stretched a vast view on roads, lakes and forests. The 400-km. track led through old settlements and villages, small towns, inaccessible thickets and wilderness on the lakes. It was a wonderful, well designed and guided excursion. After the one-week stay in the specific and hospitable Finland we bid farewell to this centry imbued with gratitude for the organizers of the 2nd International Finno-Ugrian Congress.

Włodzimierz Antoniewicz

## SYMPOSIUM OF POLISH AND U.S.S.R. SCIENTISTS DEVOTED TO BALTO-SLAVONIC CONTACTS IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES IN BIAŁYSTOK

A symposium devoted to Balto-Slavonic contacts in the early Middle Ages was held on the 20th and 21st of September, 1965. It was organized by the Białystok-Scientific Society in operation with the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. The symposium was held under the chairmanship of prof. dr. A. Gieysztor; prof. T. Dzierżykraj-Rogalski was the vice-chairman and dr. J. Antoniewicz — the secretary. The latter was responsible for all administrative and scientific matters of that meeting. The materials from that symposium will be published in the subsequent volume of *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, a publication of the Białystok Scientific Society. On the Polish part, the meeting was attended by archaeologists and mediaevalists from the following centres: Białystok, Gdańsk, Lublin, Łódź, Poznań, Kraków (Cracow), Olsztyn, Toruń and Warszawa (Warsaw); on the Soviet part — by scientists from Moscow, Leningrad, Smolensk, Minsk, Riga and Wilno (Vilnius). Moreover, one scientist from London and one from Berlin were present. Altogether the meeting was attended by more than 50 persons, half of whom were scientists from the above-mentioned centres. The symposium had been planned, first of all, as a meeting of mediaevalists and archaeologists of Poland and the Soviet Union, yet linguists and ethnographers were also present. The purpose of this meeting was to elucidate controversial problems concerning the contacts between tribal groups of the Eastern and Western Slavs and the Balts (Prussians, Lithuanians, Latvians) at the beginning of the formation of the Polish and Ruthenian States.

An introductory paper entitled "Some controversial aspects of Balto-Slavonic contacts in the early Middle Ages

in the light of archaeological, linguistic and historical sources" was read by J. Antoniewicz. In his paper, he has made an attempt to elucidate the spread of certain features of material culture and of some linguistic data



Fig. 1. Dr J. Antoniewicz, Secretary of the Symposium, addresses a greeting speech at the opening of the conference.

which seem puzzling to historians. This occurs on the borderland, in the zone of indirect Balto-Slavonic contacts. Such zone, 50 km wide, (as, for example, between North Masovia and the Masurian Land) represents a defined area which could be called "passage area" and bears mixed Slavonic-Baltic cultural features. These mixed features of an irregular intensiveness reflect the mutual influences of two neighbouring ethnoses and cultures. Dr. Antoniewicz gave many examples from Pomerania,



Fig. 2. The conference hall at Białystok. Prof. dr Konrad Jażdżewski from the Łódź University delivers his speech.

Masovia, the Mazurian Land, and from other territories. He is of the opinion that these intermixed features should not always be regarded as an evidence of aggression of one ethnos on the territory of the other one, but as a result of mutual penetration and influences of neighbouring strong ethnical complexes, speaking different languages and representing different material and spiritual cultures.

The remaining papers, except those of prof. V. T. Pašuto from Moscow and of doc. dr. Wł. Szafrąński from Warsaw, were dealing with Balto-Slavonic contacts on defined territories. Dr. Szafrąński presented the results of his research on mutual influences in the domain of primary beliefs of the Balts and Slavs.

Prof. P. N. Tretiakov from Leningrad discussed the shifting of Slavonic culture from the south northwards, to the upper Dnieper basin, which had been taking place from the second half

of the first millennium before our era to the end of the first millennium of our era, together with defined phases of Slavonic settlement in particular periods. His very important statement was that he considered the Balto-Slavonic contacts on the upper Dnieper to had been a long-lasting process, owing to which the Baltic culture slowly assimilated in that region. In his opinion, the eastern Balts were participating in the formation of the culture of the northern Slavs, who created the specific northern branch of the early mediaeval Ruthenian (early Russian) nation and state. This problem was discussed in detail by doc. J. A. Schmidt from Smolensk, who, on the basis of the archaeological material from the Smolensk region pointed at the traces of Baltic culture and of the Balts upon the upper Dnieper river, which had existed still in the second half of the 1st millennium of our era. He also said that, in the light of archaeological materials, it was difficult



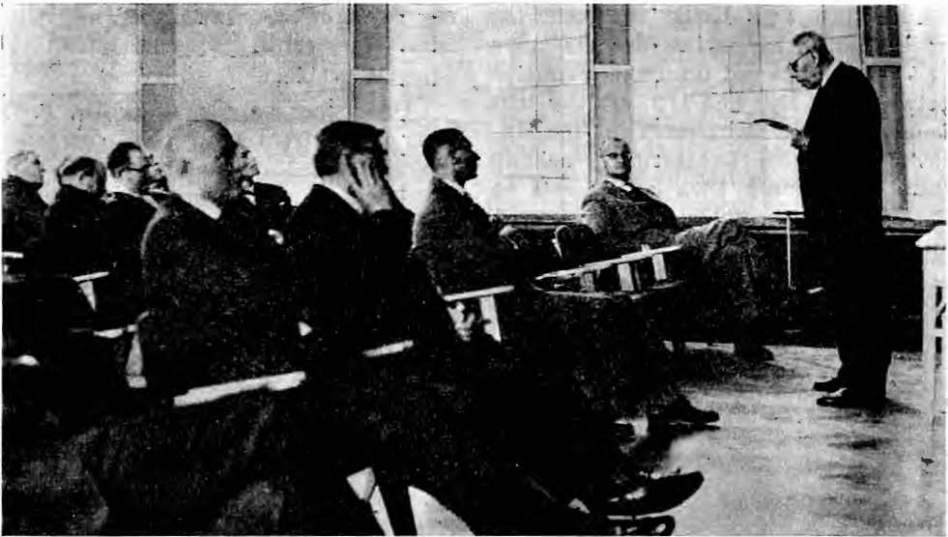


Fig. 3. Prof. dr Henryk Łowmiański from the Poznań University gives his lecture.

to ascertain when the Slavs had appeared in that territory, and we should take that it had been a process going on slowly and imperceptibly within the frames of the so-called "Baltic culture".

An interesting paper was read at the symposium by prof. V. T. Pašuto who depicted the diverse ethnical structure of the mediaeval Ruthenian state, especially on the north, and its contacts with the Balts and Finns. He emphasized the generally friendly connections of those peoples with Ruthenian principalities in the face of invasions and of the economic penetration of German, Swedish and Danish feudals into the territory of the tribal states of the Balts and Finns.

The Slavonic-Sudovian borderland was discussed by prof. H. Łowmiański from Poznań. He called the attention to the fact that historical mentions concerning the 13th century Sudovian territory, situated to the north of the Biebrza river, were indubitable and that there was general agreement on that in literature (A. Kamiński,

J. Antoniewicz, J. Nalepa and the authors of "Lietuvos TSR Istorija", Vilnius 1957). On the other hand, the ethnical relations to the south of the Biebrza river, existing before the 13th century, give rise to doubts due to the lack of written sources. Prof. H. Łowmiański believes that patronymic names ending in *-ic* (or Ruthenian *-ič*), not made use of by the historians so far, may serve as an additional indication. They reflect the system of tilling based on forest clearing (slush-and-burn cultivation), the clan system and the way of a collective establishment of settlements. According to him, the consideration of these toponymic data leads to the conclusion that no traces of Slavonic settlement on the territory between the Biebrza and the Narew rivers, and also on that on the left bank of the Narew, dating from the period after the 7th century, — have been preserved, except the enclave in the Bielsk Podlaski region. That shows that there was no Slavonic settlement within those borders. The author supposes that beginning with the

7th century and during the following ones, there were no settlements there and that it was not until the transition between the 10th and 11th century that favourable conditions arose for the Masovians and the Dregovitchi, enabling them to establish their settlements in the wilderness on the confines.



Fig. 4. Prof. dr P. N. Tretiakov from the Institute of Archaeology in Leningrad (USSR) gives his lecture.

An interesting conception concerning the localisation of the *Raj* castle was presented by dr. P. A. Rappoport from Leningrad. Polish and Russian historians supposed that the castle had been situated near today's Rajgrad, Augustów district, in Poland, on the ancient Sudovian territory. According to dr. Rappoport, the *Raj* castle mentioned in "Ipatievskaya Letopis" under the year 1289 should not be linked with Rajgrad in Poland, but localised not far from Luboml in Volhynia. The paper read by doc. K. Ślaski from Poznań concerned the seizure of the Chełmno Land by the Prussians in the 13th century, which had been an expression of their military activity, connected with full formation of the feudal relations in the Prussian community. The papers of dr. J. Powierski and dr. J. Bieniak from Toruń were dealing with the 13th cent-

ury Pomeranian-Prussian alliance, with Brun of Querfurt's expedition and the Selencia problem.

One paper only, read by Dr. F. D. Gurevič from Leningrad, concerned the Slavonic-Lithuanian contacts. She presented the results of her research at Novogrodek in White Russia and drew attention to far-reaching contacts of this centre with all East Europe, Asia and, first of all, with Byelorussia. Two papers were dealing with Latvia. Dr. E. Šnore from Riga, a Latvian archaeologist spoke about Latgalian-Slavonic contacts on the territory of East Latvia in the early Middle Ages, stressing first of all, the traces of the Ruthenian culture in the material culture of Latvian tribes. V. B. Vilimbachov, a historian from Leningrad, had sent a paper on the quasi-traces of the stay of the Slavs on the territory of Livonia; unfortunately it was not read, as there was no time left.



Fig. 5. Visiting the Teutonic Knights' Castle at Malbork in Poland. From left to right: Dr. G. Shtikhov (Minsk), prof. P. N. Tretiakov (Leningrad), dr E. Mugurevičs (Riga), Mrs. P. N. Tretiakov (Leningrad), E. Šnore (Riga), dr. F. D. Gurevich (Leningrad), prof. T. Sulimirski (London), dr J. Antoniewicz (Warsaw).

The discussion at the symposium concerned, on the one hand the problems raised in the papers, on the other — the methods of co-operation of the three scientific disciplines interested: history, archaeology and linguistics, in the process of the creation of historical syntheses. Several less important problems were also discussed as, for instance, the Slavonic slash-and-burn cultivation (forest clearing), the use of onomastics for historical studies, the definition of the zone of Balto-Slavonic contacts etc. which emerged from the discussion. The conviction that both archaeology and linguistics provide scientific data per-

mitting to define, more or less exactly, the zone of mutual Balto-Slavonic contacts, seems to be the most important statement. This zone is nevertheless a measurable territory on which features from the fields of linguistics and of material culture, mixed in some way and common to both ethnoses, occur. These zones have not been clearly defined so far in history or in archaeology and this is a task for the future when examining the migrations of tribes, nations and their movements in the way of conquest or of peaceful economic and cultural expansion.

Jerzy Antoniewicz

## OBITUARY NOTICE

JAN CZEKANOWSKI

(1882—1965)

Le 20 juillet 1965 les anthropologues du monde entier, et ceux de la Pologne en premier lieu, ont éprouvé une perte cruelle. Un des fondateurs de l'anthropologie contemporaine, son éminent théoricien et propagateur, Jan Czekanowski, vient de nous quitter.

Il était né le 6 octobre 1882 à Głuchów (district Grójec), fils de Vincent et Amélie, née Guthke. Après quelques années d'enseignement primaire dispensé à domicile, il fréquenta d'abord l'école — bien connue à Varsovie — de Wojciech Górski, ensuite il partit pour la Lettonie, où à Libawa il termina ses études secondaires et obtint le diplôme du baccalauréat en l'année 1901. Après quelques mois de service militaire, Czekanowski part pour la Suisse où il s'inscrit à l'université de Zürich et fait ses études sous les auspices de l'éminent anthropologue Rodolphe Martin. En 1907 il obtient le diplôme de docteur en philosophie. Durant l'année académique



Prof. dr Jan Czekanowski  
(1882—1965)

1903/1907, Czekanowski assistait aux cours des mathématiques à l'université de Berlin.

Ce fut lors du Congrès des Anthropologues Allemands à Worms, en 1903, que se décida — à en croire ses propres paroles — l'avenir et la carrière scientifique de Jan Czekanowski. Car c'est alors, qu'encouragé par son maître, le professeur Martin, qu'il avait accompagné au Congrès, qu'il présenta son premier travail scientifique et prononça la conférence sur: „Zur Höhenmessung des Schädels”, publiée ensuite en 1904 dans „Archiw für Anthropologie” (N. F. 1, 1904). Cette réussite du tout jeune homme qu'il était, lui valut l'invitation de Felix Luschan, directeur du Département Africain au Museum für Völkerekunde à Berlin. Luschan désirait engager le jeune Polonais comme assistant et envisageait de l'envoyer en Afrique ou en Océanie en vue de recherches scientifiques.

Czekanowski se décide tout de même d'achever ses études à Zürich et ce n'est que le 1<sup>er</sup> XI 1906 qu'il assume les fonctions d'assistant au Musée de Berlin. L'année suivante, au mois de mars, on lui propose de prendre part à une grande expédition africaine, organisée par le grand-duc Adolphe Frédéric de Mecklembourg et Czekanowski, désormais membre de l'expédition, se met en route en mai 1907. La tâche qui lui incombe consiste à poursuivre les recherches, étudier et rassembler tout le matériel anthropologique et ethnographo-sociologique (pour la collection du Musée de Berlin) sur le territoire entre les deux fleuves, le Nil et le Congo.

Les résultats de ces travaux furent publiés dans les cinq volumes de l'oeuvre intitulée „Forschungen im Nil — Kongo Zwischengebiet” (Leipzig 1911—1927), oeuvre qui a établi une fois pour toutes le nom de son auteur dans le domaine de la science.

Après avoir passé deux ans en Afrique et ramassé des données extrêmement précieuses, recueillies des terrains inconnus à l'époque, Czekanowski s'est

mis tout de suite à les étudier et élaborer.

Au début de l'année 1911, Czekanowski arrive à Saint-Petersbourg où il accède au poste de conservateur du Département Africain de l'Académie Tsariste des Sciences. Il n'y est pas resté longtemps. Le professeur Józef Nusbaum-Hilarowicz, zoologue de renom, lui offre le poste de professeur titulaire à la Faculté d'anthropologie et ethnologie à l'Université de Lwów. Czekanowski entre en fonctions le 1<sup>er</sup> X 1913.

Une fois affecté à Lwów, il se voit obligé de renoncer aux recherches portant sur les problèmes africains et se concentre sur ceux de l'anthropologie slave, polonaise en premier lieu. Cette période, la plus fructueuse dans la vie de Czekanowski, a duré presque trente ans. Il publie alors des ouvrages tels que: „Wstęp do Historii Słowian” (Introduction à l'histoire des Slaves, 1927), „Zarys Antropologii Polski” (Aperçu d'anthropologie de la Pologne, 1930) et enfin le livre bien connu de tous, „Człowiek w Czasie i Przestrzeni” (L'homme dans le temps et l'espace) qui a eu deux éditions „Biblioteka Wiedzy” 1934 et 1937. Ce fut alors que fut conçue l'hypothèse, acceptée désormais d'une façon unanime, sur la „proto-patrie” des Slaves sur le territoire situé entre la Vistule et l'Odra.

Lors de l'occupation allemande, Czekanowski n'ayant pas quitté Lwów, ne renonce nullement au travail scientifique, clandestin désormais, donc bien difficile et ardu qui exigeait de lui pas mal de sacrifices, vu la gêne dans laquelle il se trouvait. Il prépare alors son livre sur „Antropologia Polska w Międzywojennym Dwudziestolecium” (Les vingt années d'anthropologie polonaise entre les deux guerres mondiales) parue ensuite en 1948.

Aussitôt après la libération, encore au début de l'année 1944, il arrive à Lublin, où en 1945 il reprend son activité scientifique et didactique à l'Université Catholique de Lublin (KUL). L'année

suiivante nous le voyons à Poznań où il devient professeur titulaire d'anthropologie à la Faculté de Médecine à l'Université de Poznań. A la suite de certains remaniements d'ordre formel, l'anthropologie fut transférée à la Faculté des Mathématiques et Sciences Naturelles, et celle-ci, à son tour, transformée en Faculté de Biologie et Sciences de la Terre. Czekanowski occupe ce poste jusqu'à l'année 1960, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à sa retraite et poursuit inlassablement ses travaux scientifiques, didactiques et organisateurs.

Au cours de la longue période de son activité, le professeur Czekanowski a exercé de nombreuses charges responsables et méritoires dans la vie académique. Ainsi, en l'année 1923/26 il fut doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Jan Kazimierz à Lwów, en 1934/35 et 1935/36 il fut élu recteur de ladite Université. En 1924 il se trouve élu membre-correspondant à l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences (Polska Akademia Umiejętności) à Cracovie et en 1932 membre actif de celle-ci. En 1952 il devient membre honoraire de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk) et ensuite membre réel. Jusqu'à sa mort il exerce les fonctions du président du Comité Anthropologique de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences (PAN).

Deux universités polonaises — celle de Poznań et celle de Wrocław — ainsi que l'université canadienne d'Ottawa, lui ont conféré le titre honorifique de docteur honoris causa. Décoré à maintes reprises, il s'est vu accorder de nombreuses distinctions polonaises et étrangères.

L'activité scientifique du professeur Jan Czekanowski était des plus vastes. Ses réalisations dans le domaine d'anthropologie théorique, d'ethnographie, de connaissances de problèmes slaves, d'ethnogenèse, d'histoire et enfin des mathématiques lui octroient, à lui et à sa méthodologie, une place prépondé-

rante dans tous les manuels d'anthropologie contemporaine.

Dans l'oeuvre de Czekanowski, l'homme en tant qu'objet d'études et recherches est considéré comme base biologique de phénomènes sociaux. Se servant de méthodes biométriques il y présente la répartition des races humaines, et le fait d'une manière extrêmement attrayante et convaincante à la fois. Sa synthèse lui attire de nombreux disciples en Pologne et à l'étranger, qui développent et réalisent les thèses de leur maître. Cette remarquable synthèse devient en outre le point de départ des recherches anthropologiques dans les pays du monde entier et contribue puissamment à propager et vulgariser l'anthropologie polonaise, celle-ci mise à la portée de tous, s'étant acquise un rang fort distingué dans la science mondiale.

C'est à Czekanowski qu'appartient le double mérite d'avoir fondé son école à lui, la grande école anthropologique, connue dans le monde sous la nom de „École de Lwów” ou „École Polonaise”, et ensuite d'avoir formé trois générations de disciples qui occupent aujourd'hui des postes responsables et dirigeants dans l'anthropologie, en Pologne et ailleurs.

On se demande quels furent les facteurs auxquels Jan Czekanowski doit le succès extraordinaire de ses entreprises, quelles étaient les qualités d'esprit et de caractère qui ont assuré à ses thèses une aussi grande renommée. Or, Czekanowski, à part ses remarquables capacités et son érudition prodigieuse, était d'une bonté et d'un attrait personnel absolument uniques.

Qu'il me soit permis de citer une phrase de l'oraison funèbre que prononça-en l'honneur de Jan Czekanowski, lors de son enterrement- au nom de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences, le professeur Kazimierz Petrusiewicz: „Il possédait la plus grande vertu des Polonais — l'intransigeance, il représentait la plus belles des traditions du romantisme polonais — celle d'agir en dépit

des conditions objectives, de les braver, de proportionner ses forces aux entreprises et buts qu'il voulait atteindre..."

Parmi les nombreuses distinctions et titres qui lui ont été décernés, le professeur Czekanowski possédait aussi celui du membre effectif de la Société Scientifique de Białystok (Białostockie Towarzystwo Naukowe). 50 ans auparavant, il s'intéressait déjà à cette région, car c'est en 1918 qu'il avait publié un ouvrage intitulé „Stosunki narodowościowe na Litwie i Rusi” (Les différents aspects des nationalités en Lithuanie et Biélorussie) „Przegląd Geograficzny”, Z. 1: Lwów 1918. Ses travaux postérieurs, publiés au cours des années 1919—1939 ont souvent trait aux problèmes des Baltes et des régions Nord-Est de la Pologne, pour ne citer que l'oeuvre remarquable, éditée en 1957 sous le titre de „Zur Anthropologie des Balticums” („Materiały i Prace Antropologiczne PAN”, No 27, 1957) et une autre, intitulée „Nazwa miasta Wenden na Łotwie w

świecie antropologii” (Le nom de la ville Wenden en Lettonie considéré du point de vue anthropologique) „Roczniki Historyczne”, t. 23, 1957.

En été, l'année 1960, le professeur Czekanowski séjourne dans la région des Suwałki pour prendre connaissance des travaux effectués par l'Expédition Scientifique Sudovienne (Kompleksowa Ekspedycja Jaėwieska). Je me souviens du vif intérêt qu'il manifestait à l'égard de chaque station et les longs entretiens se prolongeant tard dans la nuit que nous eumes avec ce grand savant et ce grand homme animé d'un enthousiasme juvénile.

J'ai eu le grand honneur et la chance d'avoir été non seulement son élève mais aussi son ami — c'est pourquoi je tiens à lui exprimer ici toute ma gratitude pour l'appui le plus empressé et la sollicitude dont il ne cessait de faire preuve à l'égard de ceux qui lui étaient proches. Honneur à sa mémoire!

T. Dzierżykraj-Rogalski

#### WŁODZIMIERZ HOŁUBOWICZ

(1908—1962)

En avril 1962 à la suite d'une intervention chirurgicale au coeur, est décédé à Stockholm Włodzimierz Hołubowicz, ex-assistant à l'Université de Toruń, professeur titulaire d'archéologie polonaise à l'Université de Wrocław et à l'Institut d'Histoire de la Culture Matérielle à Wrocław, membre de plusieurs sociétés scientifiques, explorateur renommé des régions de l'ex-Grand-Duché de Lithuanie.

W. Hołubowicz était né à Jekaterynodar (Kouban) en l'année 1908; son enfance s'était écoulée en Sibérie. Il fit ses études secondaires et universitaires à Wilno où, entre autres, il s'était engagé, à titre volontaire, aux travaux du Musée Archéologique de l'Université de Stefan Batory. Un de ses grands mérites

était d'avoir popularisé dans la presse quotidienne les réalisations scientifiques du Centre Archéologique Wilnien et de les avoir mises ainsi à la portée de grandes masses de la population polonaise. En 1937 il vient de publier son premier ouvrage scientifique sur la céramique slave de la région de Nawry (district Postawy) (de nos jours BSRR). Cette étude écrite avec talent et connaissance de sujet n'a rien perdu jusqu'à nos jours de sa valeur scientifique, due en premier lieu à l'analyse consciencieuse de l'aspect technique de la production, ainsi que de la matière première qui avait servi, à la fabrication de la céramique en question. Cette publication constitue aujourd'hui encore — pour nous baltologues — un important point de repère

re dans nos recherches sur les produits céramiques de la région limitrophe slavo-balte. L'année suivante Hołubowicz publie ses observations et expériences dans l'„Ateneum Wileńskie" (1938), mais le livre qui a couronné, pour ainsi dire, toutes ses recherches scientifiques fut „Garncarstwo wiejskie terenów zachodnich Białorusi" (La poterie rurale des régions occidentales de la Biélorussie, Toruń 1950) L'auteur a su y combiner ingénieusement les méthodes de recherches ethnographiques et archéologiques; cette oeuvre d'une maturité remarquable est devenue désormais un manuel universitaire indispensable pour les jeunes générations des futurs archéologues qui étudient déjà aux universités de la Pologne Populaire.

On ne saurait passer sous silence les recherches scientifiques que le défunt avait poursuivies dans deux centres fort importants, notamment celui de Wilno et celui de Grodno, où, lui et sa femme, Madame H. Cehak-Hołubowicz ont laissé une empreinte durable dans maintes publications écrites surtout en lituanien et russe, — empreinte qui demeure à jamais l'apport marquant de la science polonaise dans l'étude menant à déchiffrer et éclaircir les origines de la nation lituanienne et biélorusse.

Encore comme étudiant à l'université, puis après la guerre comme chercheur indépendant, le professeur Hołubowicz a toujours gardé une passion enflammée pour la science. Il n'hésitait jamais à professer ouvertement ses opinions qui, pas mal des fois, abolissaient ou du moins récoilaient les jugements reçus et slogans suivant des chemins battus — repris et ploclamés, tels un point acquis à jamais, par d'éminents spécialistes. Hołubowicz fut un des premiers qui, en Pologne, ont tout fait pour rompre le cercle magique du typologisme adopté alors dans l'archéologie polonaise, le premier à considérer cette branche de science comme une discipline censée étudier les procès historiques

à leur source et origine. Hołubowicz, éminent savant et pédagogue progressiste a fait son possible pour transmettre cette attitude et ses dispositions à la nouvelle génération de ses disciples, désireux qu'il était d'en imprégner égale-



Prof. dr Włodzimierz Hołubowicz  
(1908—1962)

ment les autres centres archéologiques polonais. Voilà une des raisons pour laquelle nombre de ses travaux écrits au cours de son séjour à Toruń et à Wrocław ne perdront rien de leur valeur historique, leur auteur ayant été un porte-parole remarquable de cette discipline scientifique.

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Jerzy Antoniewicz

#### RAUL ŠNORE

(1901—1962)

The death of R. Šnore in 1962, constituted the loss of one of the most eminent representatives of the Latvian archaeology. He was born on the 19th of March 1901, in Riga. In the period 1915—1919 he was a pupil at the secondary school in eastern Siberia, on the Amur river, where his father was a ship-captain. As far as his higher education was concerned, he first studied architecture, then history. He graduated in Riga, after the First World War. During his historical studies he took a special interest in archaeology as well as in numismatics, devoting himself to the specialization in these branches of science. Since 1925 he was participating in numerous, archaeological expeditions working at various archaeological sites in his fatherland. In the period 1930—1934 he was entrusted with the office of State Custodian of the Historical and Numismatic Section of the State Historical Museum in Riga, holding — in the period of 1934—1935 — the post of the Inspector of Conservancy of Archaeological Relics in the State Conservancy Office of Latvian Republic. In 1935—1936 he was the head of the Numismatic Cabinet in Riga, being appointed the director of the State Historical Museum in Riga for the period of 1936—1941. During World War II he was the manager of the Section of Historical Museum in the town of Cesis, for the years 1942—1944, becoming in 1945 the assistant director of the State Historical Museum in Riga.

Dr. Raul Šnore has retired in recent years because of a serious heart disease, but till the last moments of his life he did not stop to work in the field of Latvian archaeology. Despite his illness he was participating in an number of archaeological expeditions, organised the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, serving during them with his advice and help to the numerous group of the young Latvian archaeologists. He was entrusted with the preparation of the first chapter of the Economical History, which is being prepared to printing by the Institute of the Latvian History. R. Šnore was characterized by a sympathy and a friendly attitude towards Poland and Poles. In 1953 I spent a nice time at his home in Riga, having interesting scientific discussions with him. Šnore was perfectly aware of the successes as well as evolutionary tendencies of the Polish archaeology.

The scientific interests of Dr. R. Šnore were focussed on the most work-absorbing problems, connected, first of all, with Latvian numismatics. It is to him that we are indebted for the first classification as well as typology of the early-mediaeval silver objects and treasures, based on the modern principles. He is the author of the work written for us, *Baltologues*, on the ornamented pins in Latvia in the Roman and Great Migration periods, the value of which for both typology and chronological data

is always actual for archaeology of Prussia as well as for that of Sudovia and Lithuania. He, too, published a number of papers and commentaries referring to the cemeteries and earthwork explored by him. The development of his illness resulted in his death on 24th February of 1962 in Riga. We

were deprived of by one of the most active Latvian archaeologist of the between-war period. His work is being continued by his wife Elvira Šnore, the authoress of several important and excellently written works, which have been published in Latvia after World War II.

Jerzy Antoniewicz

#### PETRAS TARASENKA

(1892—1962)

Petras Tarasenska is dead. He was an outstanding man of merit as a Lithuanian terrain-explorer and investigator of earthworks as well as a maker of inventories of the relics of ancient Lithuania. He was a Ukrainian by origin, born in Lithuania in a peasant family, which assured him pedagogical education. It was not long, however, that he remained a teacher. Recruited to the Lithuanian army, he worked in the corps of cartographers, he traversed the between-war Lithuania lengthwise and crosswise, writing down — on the margin of his professional occupations — every information and legends about the relics of the past of the ancient Lithuania. I made his acquaintance in the last phase of his life. He surprised me with his friendly attitude towards Poland and Polish culture, which he knew from the literature as well as owing to his knowledge of the Polish language. I was also astonished by his sharp memory of a experienced terrain-explorer. He was able to enumerate by heart almost two thousand of the Lithuanian earthworks, which were known to him from personal experiences and remembered the concrete, territory arrangement of each of them. He was, also able to give a thorough characterisation of each earthwork with regard to its culture-bearing layer, knowing what had been discovered in it and where were the materials deriv-

ing from particular explorations of a given relic. He was, moreover, acquainted with the content of all published as well as unpublished materials from the explorations which had been carried out by our fellow-countryman I. Krzywicki, in the earthworks in Samogitia, and shared my sorrow that these materials had been lost in the Warsaw Uprising during World War II. Tarasenska was a good and unselfish colleague. During my stay in Kovno in 1957, he made all his notes available to me, knowing that I was interested in the defensive settlements, dating from the middle of the first millennium before our era, and located in the Baltic tribal territory.

He agreed with my opinion that the culture-bearing content of a number of Lithuanian earthworks, with the so-called "smooth-walled-pottery" as far as western Lithuania was concerned, were dating from the first millennium before our era. He was, too, of my opinion that earthworks with „brushed“-ornamented pottery dated in majority from the middle as well as from the second half of the first millennium before our era, as far as eastern and central territories in Lithuania were concerned. But the culture-bearing layer dating from the Roman period, though containing showy relics was often exiguous and rather thin, marked in any case with decadent fea-

tures as far as these earthworks were concerned. The above-made observation refers, first of all, to the earthworks in central Lithuania — and not so much to those in eastern Lithuania. After the World War I P. Tarasenka wrote a small work, which was published in our "Rocznik Olsztyński". It referred mainly to Sudovian earthworks, situated within the bend of the middle Niemen (Nemunas). The between-war period constituted probably the most fruitful phase in the life of P. Tarasenka, in the field of archaeology. Afterwards, popular, scientific publications which appeared in 1925 and in 1927, and an imposing volume, entitled "Lietuvos Archelogijos Medžiaga" containing a valuable map of all sites known to the author up till 1928 came from printing. Today, from the perspective of time the above mentioned work can be compared with a similar elaboration by E. Hollack, which was published in 1908 for Prussia under the title: "Erläuterungen zur vorgeschichtlichen Übersichtskarte von Ostpreussen". Both the latter works have properly fulfilled their heretofore-role, and despite the lapse of so many years from the moment of their appearance they have remained still actual, though the archaeological material is now manifold of that from those times.

The work covering the same field and referring "the traces-bearing stones" scattered in Lithuania, was of no less importance. It was entitled "Pedos akmenyje — Lietuvos istoriniai akmenys"; Its review written for Polish readers, in result of my explanation, by my colleague from Vilnius (Wilno), A. Tautavičius, appeared in the "Ro-

cznik Olsztyński" ("Olsztyn Yearbook"). Finally, it is impossible not to mention his popular, scientific paper on Lithuanian earthworks — "Lietuvos piliakalniai" (Wilno, 1956), which was reviewed for Polish readers by Lithuanian archaeologist R. Jablonskytė-Rimantienė in the above mentioned "Yearbook". I shall not enumerate here the whole of the attainments of P. Tarasenka in the field of the popularization of archaeology and of archaeological stories for children and teenagers. His merits are great in this branch, too. I will restrict myself to mention the great work left by him in manuscript containing the inventory as well as descriptions of the Lithuanian earthworks, which is evaluated for 5—6 printed volumes. It seems to me that the mentioned work should appear in print despite some scientific faults committed by the author and resulting from the progress of science.

The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic highly praised the merits of P. Tarasenka for Lithuanian nation and culture when he was still alive. In 1958, by a decree of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, Tarasenka was granted the title of "man of merit in the field of culture of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic". The death of P. Tarasenka constitute a great loss of one of the most eminent specialists in the ancient history of Lithuania, whose name can be honourably placed among those of E. Tyszkiewicz, J. Kraszewski, W. Szukiewicz, L. Krzywicki, J. Basanavičius, J. Radziukynas and the others. We pay tribute to him!

Jerzy Antoniewicz



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